

The Bronze Age – the dawn of European civilisation?

A case study of usages of the past within the European identity discourse

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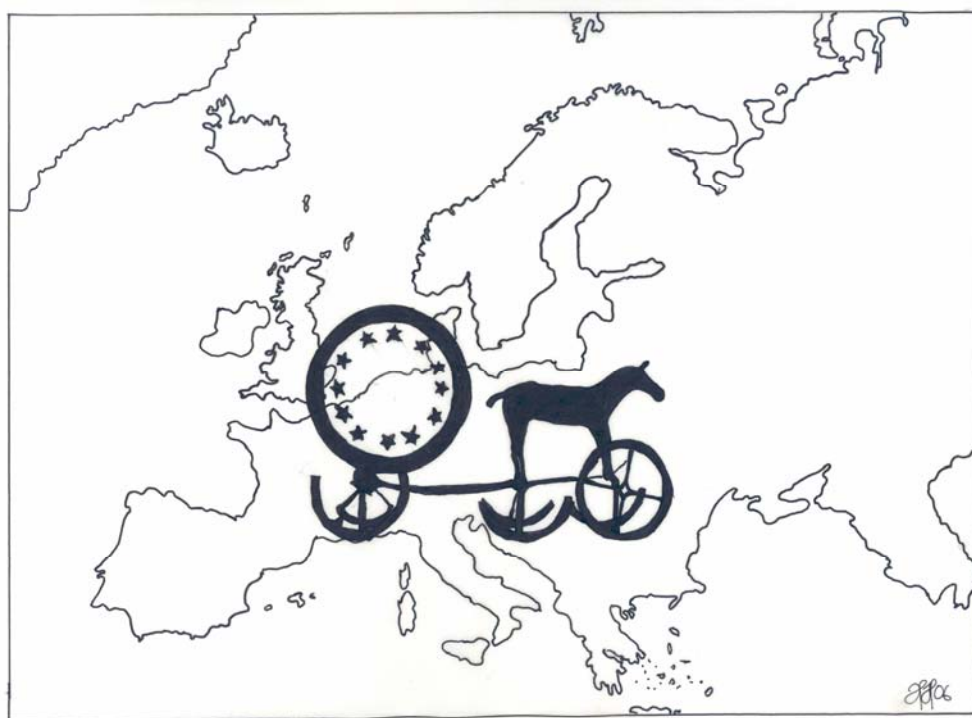


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List of abbreviations

BA	Bronze Age
CoE	Council of Europe
EC	European Community/ies
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
IA	Iron Age
PIE	Proto-Indo-European

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1. Introduction

Identity, culture, history and politics are closely connected, and the interconnection between the four has been a major theme within the social sciences throughout the 20th century (for example Anderson 1991; Gellner 1990; Hosking and Schöpflin 1997). When trying to establish new identities it is essential to present the past as part of a continuous process whereby today's identities appear to have long traditions. Archaeology's relation to nationalism is, by now, well studied (for example Eikrem 2005; Graves-Brown, et al. 1996; Prescott 1994; Østigård 2001); less so is the pan-European identity that the European Community (EC) has tried to create and establish from the 1980s onwards. Here I intend to examine the reasons for why the Bronze Age (BA), ca. 3000-700 BC, has been chosen as the first golden age of Europe (EH 2007 [1994]; Jensen 1999a).

The introduction of bronze and metallurgical skills occurred at different times in the various regions of Europe and one can observe a variety of regional styles throughout the period (for example Coles and Harding 1979; Kristiansen 1998b; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005). At the same time there are similarities between the different regions seen in, for example, iconography and burial practices that make it possible to speak of a '*European Bronze Age*'. This interplay between expressed regionality and 'international' interaction has led to a situation where two research traditions have developed. The first is concerned with local or regional studies (micro studies) and the second is related to continental studies (macro studies) (Oma 2007:28). While the first has been tackled by a number of archaeologists, the latter has been a task mainly undertaken by the archaeological elite of the given time. As is inevitable, both traditions have been affected by political trends, whether at local, regional, national or European level. Here I will only examine the macro studies, the grand narratives, as it is they that have formed part of European identity construction of the 1990s.

While the BA and its relation to the construction of a European identity and European-ness lie at the core of this analysis, it is necessary to situate these processes in their social and historical contexts. As a means to do so I will examine the relationship between archaeology, heritage and politics and how these fields become interwoven in identity discourses. The general historical development of the identity discourses will form the background for a

contextual discourse analysis of the late 20th century European identity discourse and the role which prehistory, but in particular the BA, has played in this process.

1.1 Theoretical foundations

The following analysis is situated within the theoretical field of social constructionism, whose main aim is to examine the social construction of knowledge. V. Burr (1995:2-5) recognises four key elements that different variants of social constructionist approaches have in common:

1 A critical stance towards 'taken-for-granted' knowledge...;

2 Historical and cultural specificity...;

3 Knowledge is sustained by social processes ...;

4 Knowledge and social action go together ...

This means the social world we live in, and the persons we are, depends on the way in which we comprehend the world through language. Thus the linguistic categories we use, to a large extent, determine the way in which we are able to think about and understand the world and our relations to each other (Burr 1995). The ideas of knowledge and language as socially situated and constructed have become mainstream thought within the social sciences during the last two decades, and are to a certain extent a premise for the way in which identity, the past, and the relationship between the two is apprehended today. A point of departure for this analysis is therefore:

A) *Identities are not constant or given entities.* Identities are considered to be contextual and fluid, constructed in dialogues of inclusion and exclusion with different social groups. Thus ideas, qualities and aspects considered and often presented as essential to the given identity can, and most likely will, change through time (for example Barth 1969; Eriksen 1993; Woodward 1997).

B) *The past is not a given.* The way in which we understand the past is affected by the socio-cultural and political context of the interpretation. While a social construction, our understandings of the past(s) are based on the actual physical remains left behind. The construction of interpretations therefore implies an elimination of possible other apprehensions of the past. Thus different understandings of the past result in different

communities in the present (for example Anderson 1991; Eriksen 1996; Friedman 1992; Gellner 1990; Graves-Brown, et al. 1996; Hedeager and Schousboe 1989; Shennan 1989a; Stråth 2000).

C) *Construction of collective identities and pasts are interdependent.* As a means to provide collective identities people believe in, it is important to root the present-day identity in the past (for example Anderson 1991; Eriksen 1996; Gellner 1990; Stråth 2000).

The fluid nature of identity construction makes it useful to examine the process as part of an on-going debate or discourse. A discourse is the way in which we talk about and understand the world or part of the world. Thus an analysis of a discourse is one concerned with how different people understand and conceptualise the world through language (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:9). Following this, I will examine parts of the European discourse in terms of: a) how knowledge about Europe's past and present is produced through the fields of archaeology, heritage and politics; b) how the interplay between the past and the present affects how we interpret the past, as well as the way in which we understand ourselves.

2. Introduction to the European identity discourse

The multidisciplinary field of what might be termed ‘European studies’ has become increasingly important since the early 1990s, and has played a central role in the on-going European identity discourse. As noted above, a discourse is understood as the way in which we, through our articulations, make sense of the world or parts of the world. The European identity discourse can therefore be understood as the process of definition and construction of Europe by which Europe, European and European-ness become meaningful concepts (Demossier 2007b; Shore 2000; Stråth 2001a; Wodak and Chilton 2005). It is important to stress that this discourse extends beyond the EC/EU; both the CoE as well as the nation states are important actors in the discourse as are academics, journalists, citizens and so forth who actively articulate opinions concerning Europe. Based on the examination of ‘the political rhetoric about the “Construction of European Identities”’ Wodak and Weiss (2005:129-131) divide the European identity discourse into three dimensions:

- 1) *The ideational dimension* consists of elements such as identity, history, culture and ideas used to make the category of *Europe* meaningful.
- 2) *The organisational dimension* concerns how Europe is to be organised, that is the ‘institutional forms of decision-making and political framework’ appropriate for the future.
- 3) *The geographical dimension* concerns the means by which borders are drawn and decisions about who is in and who is out are made.

While identified as three dimensions, it should nevertheless be stressed that they of course are interdependent. However, the separation is analytically useful as a means to identify tendencies within both the European discourse and academic research. The majority of studies regarding the construction of a European identity, and more recently in the plural form of identities, have been centred around the organisational dimension as played out through: 1) governance and policy making within the EU’s political documents and the debates in the media; 2) more ethnographic-based studies of European institutions and the people who work there (for example Goddard, et al. 1996; Shore 2000; Wodak and Chilton 2005). The historical foundations of the notion and ‘content’ of a European identity are,

however, yet to be fully investigated. Thus Wodak and Weiss (2005:132) recognise that an important aspect for future research is ‘elaborating the historical perspective’. The following analysis can be read as one way of elaborating the historical perspective of the development of the *ideational dimension* of the European discourse. As such it will also contribute to addressing the cultural domain of the European discourse – a domain which also has been of secondary importance in the European integration process (Demossier 2007b:49). Here I will in particular focus on how ideas and lines of argument concerning the interplay between notions of identity, culture and the past, mainly prehistory, are used to legitimise the construction of a European identity.

2.1 Historical background to ideational dimension of the European discourse

The present-day ideational dimension of the European discourse goes back to the shift from a political orientation centred on theories of *integration* to an interest in the building of a European *identity* (Malmborg and Stråth 2002; Stråth 2001b). This is a gradual shift starting in the early 1970s. The European political approaches to integration in the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by *functionalism* and *neofunctionalism*. D. Mitrany (1888-1975), a historian and political theorist, developed his functionalistic theory of integration in the interwar period. According to Mitrany international integration developed when separate international bodies which had ‘authority over functionally specific fields, such as security, transport, and communication’ were created (McCormick 2005:14). Once created, these international bodies would have to cooperate with each other and this would encourage further integration in and between the functional fields. Gradually this would lead to coordinated international planning. Following this logic, the European Coal and Steel Community of 1951 (see appendix for details) would gradually be followed by integration in other sectors and the result would be a more unified Europe.

Neofunctionalism is an expansion of Mitrany’s theory. However, it is argued that certain preconditions are needed if integration is to take place; in order to create a more integrated Europe, a shift of political loyalties from the nation state to a new European centre is essential (Rosamond 2002:37-38; Shore and Black 1996:279). Once this shift has taken place integration would work through what is known as the *spill over effect*. For integration

in one sector to succeed, one would realise the needs for creating joint action in new sectors because the sectors are interconnected: integration in agriculture would only work if related sectors such as transport and distribution also were integrated (McCormick 2005:16). Eventually this would lead to political and cultural integration. By 1970 the integration process had come to a halt, and throughout the 1970s it became increasingly clear that the theories of integration had failed. Using political scientist B. Anderson's (1991) term, anthropologist S. E. Zabusky (2000:197) has argued that the EC 'failed completely to produce an "imagined community"' – that is the economic and political communities had not made the peoples of Europe feel European, nor had they given the sense of belonging to a European community. Essentially the integration process had neglected the masses that actually formed the new European polity (Demossier 2007b:52).

By the early 1980s research had shown that identity construction and maintenance through school systems, and a public notion of national or ethnic history as well as active usage of symbols were essential for the success of the nation state and ethnic communities (for example Anderson 1991; Gellner 1990 (first editions appeared in 1983)). These aspects were, to a large extent, missing in the European integration process of the 1950s to the 1970s, and from the 1980s a call for a focus on the development of a European identity became stronger. With a call for a European identity, the ideational dimension of the European discourse became increasingly important reaching a climax during the 1990s. From the early 21st century, the tendencies have started to shift, and rather than identity, European cultural *identities* and diversity are emphasised and citizenship seems to be replacing that of identity. Historically we can therefore divide the development of ideational dimension into four main phases: 1) 1945-1970: Integration; 2) 1970s: Transition; 3) 1980-2000: European identity; 4) Early 21st century: Identities and citizenship. These periods, with an additional pre-integration period (1900-1945), function as a means to structure the material presented below. While it is primarily the period leading up to the era of integration and the era of European identity that I will focus on, the tendencies of the 1970s as well as those of 21st century will be briefly discussed.

2.2 Presentation of the material

Because identity is a continuous process that works at different levels, it is materialised in a number of ways. The sources for this analysis are texts that have contributed to the ongoing process of defining Europe, European and European-ness. I will mainly look at texts from three different, but interconnected fields: politics, archaeology and heritage.

2.2.1 Political documents

This group represents political documents that are explicitly concerned with the European identity and heritage. W. Churchill's speech is, however, included as it is recognised as the start of the new European integration/identity discourse in the post-war era. While a number of documents concerning the future of Europe and the European Union were produced during the periods of integration and European identity, there are surprisingly few documents discussing the topic of the ideational dimension of a European identity. Only from 2000 does European cultural politics gain a stricter form due to the new framework programs. The most important documents of this group are considered to be the following:

- W. Churchill's speech delivered at the University of Zurich 19 September 1946 (Churchill 2008 [1946]).
- *European cultural convention* (CoE 2008 [1954])
- *Document on the European identity* published by the Nine Foreign Ministers. Copenhagen, 14 December 1973 here referenced as (EC 1988 [1973])
- *Solemn declaration on European Union* from 1983 (EC 2007 [1983]).
- *A people's Europe* created by the European Council 26-27 June 1986 (EC 2007 [1986]). Belonging to this document are also the reports from the ad hoc committee edited by P. Adonnino (Adonnino 2007 [1985]-a, b)

In addition to these, I will briefly draw on the *Treaty on European Union* from 1992 (EU 2008 [1992]) and *Europe and the challenge of enlargement* from 1992 (EC 2007 [1992]) as a means to clarify certain aspects within the abovementioned documents. In order to highlight the tendencies of the early 21st century I will briefly discuss the content of *Culture 2000 programme* (EU 2008 [2000]), *Culture 2007-2013* (EU 2007), *50 years of the European cultural convention* (CoE 2008a) and the *White paper on intercultural dialogue* (CoE 2008b).

2.2.2 Archaeological texts

This group represents texts written by and mainly for archaeologists, with themes structured around the European Bronze Age (BA). As noted above (1.0) the period and textual material are chosen as they have formed part of the European discourse of the 1990s. These texts are concerned with what can be termed the *grand narrative* of the European BA. With his chronologies of material from the European BA, O. Montelius laid the foundations for the style of grand narratives. Grand narratives examine the European continent as a whole and the macro processes connecting the different parts of Europe to one large cultural complex. It is these macro studies that to a large extent have contributed to the idea of the BA as the ‘first golden age of Europe’ and the ‘dawn of European civilisation’. I have chosen to divide these texts into two subcategories: Archaeological grand narratives 1 and Archaeological grand narratives 2.

The reason for dividing the archaeological texts into two categories is due to the material itself: the style of grand narratives was common practice in the first half of the 20th century. This style of grand narratives relinquished with the emergence of more ecological and functionalistic tendencies within archaeology. The BA research became regionally and locally focused and the large-scale perspective and the role of diffusion become subordinate (Kristiansen 2008). It should nevertheless be noted that the grand narratives and their cultural typologies continued to form a basis and starting point for regionalised and localised archaeological research. Yet it was not until the late 1980s and onwards that grand narratives of the BA reappeared. Thus the time-gap between the two ‘epochs’ of macro studies affect, in particular, the theoretical orientation of the two and makes it necessary to differentiate between them.

Archaeological grand narratives 1

These texts are written within the tradition of cultural historic archaeology. They are explicitly concerned with determining the dawn of the European civilisation and discuss the foundations of modern day European societies:

- C. F. C. Hawkes’ (1940). *The prehistoric foundations of Europe. To the Mycenaean Age*
- V. G. Childe’s (1925; 1957; 1962; 1963 [1930]; 1973 [1957]) *The dawn of European civilization, The Bronze Age, The prehistory of Europe* and *The Bronze Age*

Archaeological grand narratives 2

These texts are published from around the 1980s and represent a transitional period as well as the second generation of grand narratives of the BA. While this is a rather extensive period covering both processual and post-processual archaeology, the majority of the works are published during the 1990s (around and after the CoE's BA campaign) and written within a much more theoretically conscious and diverse archaeological environment.

- J. M. Coles and A. F. Harding's (1979) *The Bronze Age in Europe*
- A. Sherratt's (1993) 'What would a Bronze-Age world system look like?'
- K. Kristiansen's (1994; 1998b) 'The emergence of the European world system in the Bronze Age' and *Europe before history*
- K. Kristiansen and T. B. Larsson's (2005) *The rise of Bronze Age society. Travels, transmissions and transformations*

2.2.3 Heritage presentations of the past

Heritage presentations represent a category of texts whose main purpose is to disseminate information about past and present cultural traditions to a wide audience. They are often popularised presentations of archaeology, history and anthropology. Within this context the heritage presentations represent documents that *present the BA to the general public as part of a common European heritage*. While mainly written by academics, these presentations were initiated or supported by European institutions such as the CoE. Thus heritage can be regarded as an arena in which archaeology and politics, for better or worse, meet.

- The Bronze Age – the first golden age of Europe, created as part of CoE's *European heritage* series in 1994 (EH 2007 [1994])
- The publication made for the CoE's art exhibition *Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age* (Jensen 1999a)
- *The Bronze Age in Europe. Gods, heroes and treasures* (Mohen and Eluère 2000)

2.2.4 Summary of the material

The table below shows when the different texts were produced based on the political history categories presented in 2.1.

	IDENTITY I 1900-1945	INTEGRATION 1945-1970	TRANSITION 1970-1980	IDENTITY II 1980-2000	IDENTITIES 2000-
Political documents		Churchill 1946 <i>European cultural convention</i> (1954)	<i>Document on the European Identity</i> (1973)	<i>Solemn declaration on European Union</i> (1983) <i>A people's Europe</i> (1986) <i>Treaty of the European Union</i> (1992) <i>Europe and the challenge of enlargement</i> (1992)	<i>Culture</i> 2000-2006 <i>Culture</i> 2007-2013 <i>50 years of the European Cultural Convention</i> (2004) <i>White paper on intercultural dialogue</i> (2008)
Archaeology	<i>The dawn of European Civilization</i> (1925) <i>The Bronze Age</i> (1930) <i>The prehistoric foundations of Europe. To the Mycenaean Age</i> (1940)	The Bronze Age (1957) <i>The Prehistory of Europe</i> (1958)	<i>The Bronze Age in Europe</i> (1979)	What would a Bronze-Age world system look like? (1993) The emergence of the European world system in the Bronze Age (1994) <i>Europe before history</i> (1998)	<i>The rise of Bronze Age society. Travels, transmissions and transformations</i> (2005)
Heritage				<i>The Bronze Age - the first golden age of Europe</i> (1994) <i>Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age</i> (1999) <i>The Bronze Age in Europe, Gods, heroes and treasures</i> (2000)	

Table 1 *Overview of the material*

2.3 Methodological approaches

As noted above a discourse is a manner in which we try to portray reality in a meaningful way. The European discourse is concerned with the construction of Europe as a meaningful and defined entity through linguistic articulations. The interpretation of the past is one area where the idea of Europe is debated, but also one where the notion of European is constructed. In order to explore the roles of archaeology, heritage and prehistory in the construction of Europe, I will draw on concepts and ideas developed in the field of (critical) discourse analysis and discourse theory. However, the cross-disciplinary character, the length of the texts as well as period of time over which the texts were written make the

abovementioned texts differ from the typical types of texts (such as shorter news paper articles) analysed. Thus the aim is not to do a full discourse analysis, but to use some of the methodological elements as tools to deconstruct and structure the material and argumentation used when implementing the past in identity discourses of the present. This will enable me to highlight how Europe becomes meaningful – in other words how meaning is created and materialised.

The concepts *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity* refer to the way in which texts and discourses within one discipline often are interlinked and overlap with those of other disciplines. At the same time it also highlights the fact that present texts and discourses also are connected with those of the past (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:84; Wodak and Weiss 2005:127). In order to understand the development of the ideational dimension of the European identity discourse, an intertextual approach is essential because the ideational dimension is related to, and to a certain extent based upon, older national identity discourses. Within this analysis I will therefore draw on Foucault's concept of *genealogy* and Laclau and Mouffe's concepts of *element*, *moment* and *nodal points* as a means to show a) how the European identity discourse is intertextually and interideationally linked with national identity discourses; and b) how the archaeological BA discourse is used to strengthen the nodal points of *European (people)/European-ness* in the European discourse.

2.3.1 Elements, moments and nodal points

While discourses can be regarded as structured totalities, they are not closed totalities and they can exist at different levels and join to form new discourses. The construction of an identity can be regarded as a discourse where other discursive fields meet and join through practices of articulation. In the ideational construction of a European past, the fields of heritage, archaeology and politics join and become part of the wider European identity discourse (see figure 1).

According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001:112; 2002:62) discourses are structured around *nodal points*. Nodal points represent privileged discourse points that are 'constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity'. In other words, the nodal points try to establish a centre in which different articulated positions are structured. Within the European discourse *Europe*, *European (people)*, and *European-ness* represent nodal points. Politics,

heritage and archaeology represent discursive fields in their own right, but together they contribute to the ideational dimension of the European discourse – a dimension which until the 20th century mainly was of philosophic and academic interest. When the ideational dimension European discourse became a political identity project in the 1970s, archaeology and heritage represent *elements* – that is, they have yet to hold a particular position and as such they are fluid and multivocal. However, within an identity discourse the fluid and multivocal character of the elements are reduced so they come across as *moments*, i.e. articulated positions, that strengthen the nodal point (see figure 2).

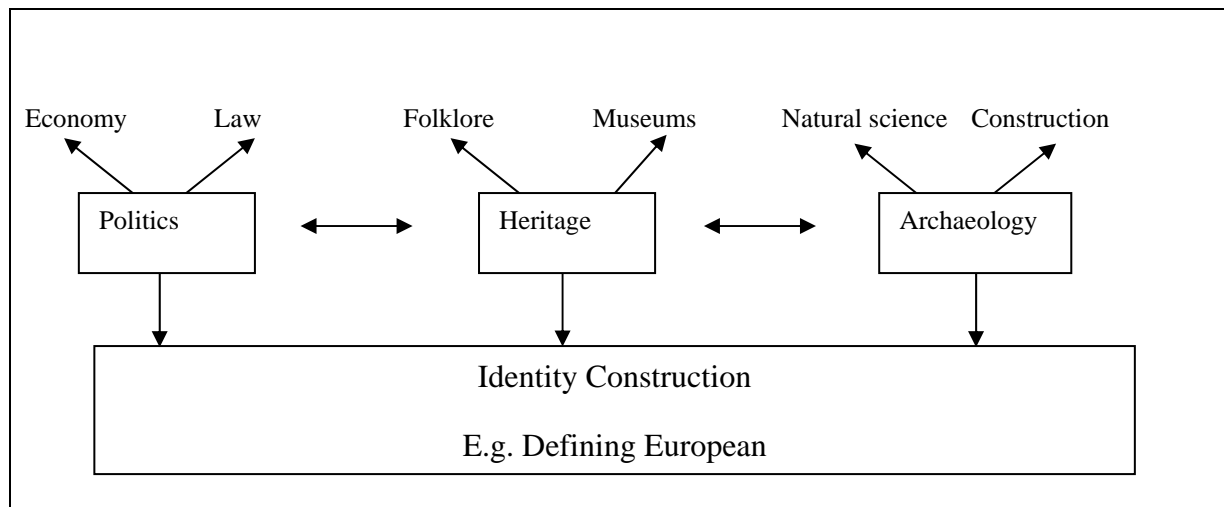


Figure 1 *The discursive fields contributing to the European identity discourse, and examples of moments in their own discursive fields.*

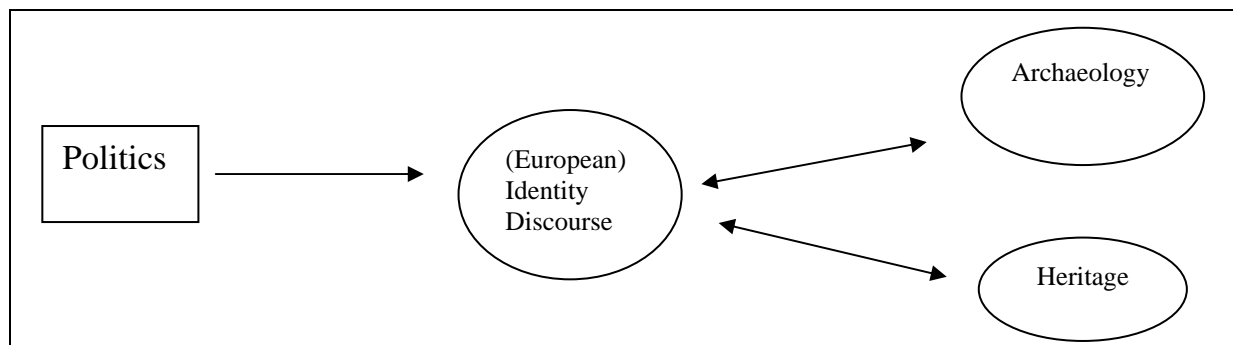


Figure 2 *As the construction of a European identity becomes a political project, archaeology and heritage move towards a status of moments which are used to strengthen the nodal point of European/European-ness.*

However, the transition from element to moment can never be fully achieved. In this context it is largely due to the fact that archaeology, heritage and politics are independent discursive fields and have a history of their own. The intertextuality of archaeology sets a premise for the way in which archaeologists position themselves in relation to, for example, the role of

the past in identity construction and this will influence their articulations in the European discourse. Thus the intertextuality makes the construction of a European identity very complex. It represents the terms on which the project was started. However, the intertextuality is also a core reason for the challenges the identity construction has met.

While Laclau and Mouffe's concepts are useful for understanding the structure of European identity discourse, they are less useful as a means to work with the archaeological and heritage interpretations of the BA. In order to solve the challenge of systematising and contextualising the extensive textual material I have developed two categories: *underlying premise* and *core theme*. Underlying premises refer to the theoretical foundations which set the premises for the way in which the interpretations are produced. Core theme is used as a broader category than nodal point and is meant to highlight general themes or tendencies in the interpretations. While the core themes put an emphasis on themes particularly relevant for the nodal points of Europe, European, European-ness, they do, however, reflect central aspects of the overall heritage and archaeological interpretations. Essentially the category of core theme makes it possible to intertextually link different publications. The political documents are used as a means to contextualise the archaeological and heritage interpretations within the European identity discourse, before the underlying premises of the archaeological and heritage texts are identified. Then the core themes of the period will be discussed as a means to identify aspects in the texts that strengthen the overall nodal points of the identity discourse.

In order to understand the European identity discourse it is essential to examine the interdiscursivity of identity discourses more generally; that is how the European identity discourse draws on and is influenced by former national identity discourse's 'identity formula' (see chapter 3). As a means to deconstruct the 'identity formula' I will draw on the methodological concept of *genealogy*. Genealogy can be viewed as a method for 'tracing the development of present ways of understanding, of current discourses and representations' (Burr 1995:166). A genealogical investigation will therefore shed light on the historical background of European identity discourse.

3. Genealogical deconstruction of the usage of the past in identity construction

The European identity discourse has, as noted above, a rather short history dating back only to the 1970s. However, the way in which the past has been integrated in this discourse is built on experiences gained during the construction of nation states in the late 19th and early 20th century Europe. In this chapter I will therefore examine the components in the national discourse, and in particular focus on how *people*, as a nodal point, has created a rather fixed formula for linking the present with the past. While this originally is a product of 19th century nationalism, it has become a mainstream, almost universal, frame or mindset for building collective identities.

3.1 *People* – a defining nodal point

Using Laclau and Mouffe's terminology, *people* represents a nodal point within the national discourse (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:37). Notions of identity, culture, heritage and history are important signifiers, but in a national discourse they make sense primarily when understood and referred to in relation to a given people. However, the word 'people' can refer to a number of situations: from a group of persons standing in a crowd, to an ethnic majority as well as minority or in yet other contexts to the persons living within a nation-state. Thus, nodal points are ambiguous and gain meaning when seen in relation to the given discourse. Laclau therefore characterises nodal points as *floating signifiers* (Laclau 1990:28). While *people* represents a nodal point in a national discourse, it becomes a floating signifier when used in competing discourses (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:37-41). Figure 3 shows how the nodal point of *people* holds a central position in a national, ethnic or cultural identity discourse while the other fields within the discourse move from elements towards moments and are interrelated and dependent on each other.

Below I will explain how *people* becomes a floating signifier when the European Community (EC) tries to transfer this nodal point as a means to create a new European identity. However, as a means to understand the privileged position of *people* in national identity discourses, we have to go beyond today's discourses and examine the meaning and context in which this and the related concepts of culture, heritage and identity were

developed. This deconstruction of the rationality behind the concepts will enable me to highlight how the meaning and comprehension of the concepts have changed. As will become clear from the following, the alteration of the apprehension of these concepts, or rather processes, is one of the reasons behind the problems of establishing this new European identity.

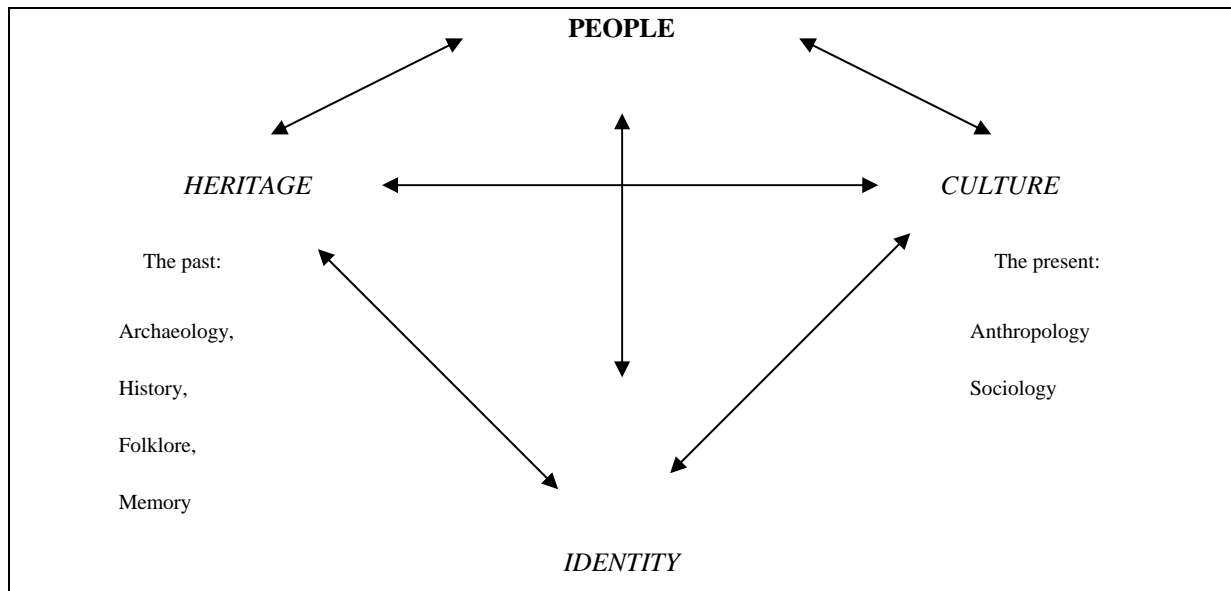


Figure 3 Components concerning the past-present relations in the national identity discourse. 'People' represents a nodal point that structures heritage, identity and culture.

3.1.1 Genealogy of the relationship between *people*, identity and the past

Linguistic history of the concepts of people, ethnicity, culture and nation

Linguistically the modern-day concepts of people, ethnicity and nation go back to the Latin concepts of *natio*, *gens* and *populus* and the Greek concept of *ethnos*. *Natio* and *ethnos* were both used to 'define a number of people living together with something in common, for example a sanctuary or a language' (Díaz-Andreu 1996:49). The Latin concepts of *gens* and *populus* and the Greek *genos* partly correspond with the concepts of *natio* and *ethnos*. These concepts were primarily used in order to classify non-Greeks and non-Romans, i.e. their 'other' – the Barbarians. Thus, these concepts became a means for the Greeks and Romans to distance themselves from others. Greek and Roman identities were therefore partly constructed through an identification of what they were not (Díaz-Andreu 1996:49-50).

The term *culture* has become closely related to the concepts of people and nation. This relationship is, however, fairly recent. The concept of culture has its root in the Latin verb *colere* which means to cultivate; that is the practice of cultivating the soil, plants or crops (Díaz-Andreu 1996:51; Eriksen 2004:24). While the term culture appeared in the Romance languages of Italian and Spanish in the 15th century, it was only in the 17th century that culture became a synonym for nation. From the late 18th century and early 19th century the meaning of the concepts of nation and culture were redefined and seen in direct relation to nationalism. The concept of nation was first used in the French revolution referring to ‘the body of individuals governed by the same law and represented by the legislative assembly’ – i.e. the nation was identified as the (French) state (Kamenka 1976 in Díaz-Andreu 1996:53). However, this notion of nation was soon altered as it became related to an essentialist perception of culture. With the growth of the cultural nationalism, anthropology, archaeology and history became important disciplines to draw on in order to scientifically legitimate the process. When archaeology, anthropology and history are integrated in the national identity discourses, they become positioned fields that function as moments to strengthen the position of the nodal point; that is the given people.

Science and identity: the 19th and early 20th century identity discourse

By the late 19th century archaeology and anthropology were formally established disciplines, and became important fields of inquiry for comprehending and explaining cultural differences of the past and the present. Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century these cultural differences were effectively exposed to the wider Western audience through public education, museums, international exhibitions and fairs (for example Anderson 1991; Bennett 1995; Gellner 1990; Hides 1996; Ray 2001:79-144; Thiesse 2007). At the time culture was no longer only understood in terms of one universal human culture, but as *cultures* whose relations were often organised and understood in evolutionary terms, and explained as closed entities living in geographically bounded areas (Shanks 2001:285). The cultures were differentiated by peoples’ physical appearances and their distinct ways of organising material life. While this way of classifying the world was most visible in the early accounts of peoples living outside Europe, this line of thought – equating people, their culture and the land they inhabit – became ‘crucial to the coherence of the new nation states of modern Europe’ (Shanks 2001:286). An implication of this equation is that the people who share language, heritage and culture are part of a nation whether or not the individual

chooses to highlight his or her membership. In this sense *people* become synonymous with a *nation*, which again comes across as an ‘objective’ entity (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:172). This line of argument becomes an underlying foundation for the establishment of collective cultural identities – whether it is an ethnic, national, or supra national identity.

The connection between land, people, culture and nation created a context in which it became possible to draw lines between material culture of the past and the present-day people living in a given area. While national or ethnic pasts are diverse, this diversity was, and still is, often downplayed in these discourses. An effective means to put emphasis on the unity of a nation is the creation of golden ages. A golden age plays on the themes of heroism, glory and creativity rooted in a people’s origins. Golden ages therefore serve as a guarantee for the authenticity of the national values and qualities that are cherished. It reminds people of their glorious past, their greatness and plays on the present-day people’s link with ‘mythified’ ancestors of the past; myths and heroes that in reality often are very similar even though they are used as a means to define national differences (Gröhn 2004:161; Smith 1997; Thiesse 2007). Within such a frame of mind archaeology and history are thought to be able to ‘certify’ the identity by proving the given group’s connections to the land through historical sources and/or archaeological material.

G. Kossinna (1858-1931) was the first archaeologist to define and systematically use the concept of culture in the abovementioned manner. He saw archaeology as the most national of all sciences and was of the opinion that cultural continuities were reflections of ethnic continuities. Thus, it became possible to trace ethnic groups’ histories back in time and use archaeology to prove peoples’ rights to land (Trigger 1980:28, 44; 1996:124-126). As the Nazis drew on Kossinna’s research, archaeologists have, in the aftermath of World War II, kept away from his theories. Rather than Kossinna, it is V. G. Childe’s (1929:v-vi) definition of culture that became known and referred to within archaeological research

We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms – constantly recurring together. Such a complex of regularly associated traits we shall term a ‘cultural group’ or just a ‘culture’. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what to-day would be called a ‘people’.

While the more problematic sides of this definition have become clearer through the course of the 20th century, this definition is in many ways ideal in a national context. Because the definition takes into consideration that people around the world conduct and organise their material lives in a variety of manners due to, for example, different physical environments

(Shennan 1989b:5; Ucko 1989:xiv), it creates a connection between landscape and culture that provides a useful basis for locating ‘new communities of nationhood in a kind of collective cultural memory of belonging’ (Shanks 2001:287). As such, the past became a vital element in identity discourses and something we have come to treasure as our own possession. Thus, by linking the past and the present, we ultimately create a perception of cultural identity as something given or objective.

Together, archaeology, history and anthropology form the basis for the ‘identity formula’ of the late 19th and early 20th century which can be summarised as:

culture (as visible and definable physical traits) + *history* (as golden ages – both prehistoric and historic) = a core of a *people’s (national) identity*.

The *history* is primarily a national or ethnic history which focuses on particular periods where events, patterns of life, material expressions and so forth highlight qualities cherished in the present. Thus the past can be used as ‘proof’ of the historical roots of these qualities that come across as the essence of the people – the core of their identity. In the end one has created a circular argument in which the relationship between the past and the present is blurred. In late 19th and early 20th century archaeology, history and anthropology provided a scientific framework that strengthened the idea of the nation-states in a time when the belief in science developed rapidly.

The revitalisation of the ‘identity formula’

A critical stance towards this ‘identity formula’ only became common in the second half of the 20th century. To a certain extent this can be read as a response to the generally negative attitude towards the nation-state in post-war Europe: the nation-state had failed to bring peace and prosperity and was regarded as the cause of separation and war experienced in the first decades of the 20th century (Nicoll and Salmon 2001:9). However, by the early 1980s the understanding of culture had changed, with nation-states and nationhood, as well as ethnicity, becoming important fields of study in social and historical research. This revealed that identity is, in fact, a social construct (for example Anderson 1991; Barth 1969; Graves-Brown, et al. 1996; Jones 1997; Shennan 1989a). Thus nations, cultures and identities cannot be viewed as objective entities that exist by or in themselves (Shanks 2001:292-293). Rather, they are contingent, defined and constructed in relation to something or someone else: we

become aware of whom we are because we are able to contrast and define ourselves in relation to someone else – ‘an other’. In other words, the meaning of these concepts is closer to the original Latin and Greek terminology.

While the notions of culture and identity have changed in the social sciences and the humanities, we have experienced a second wave of identity discourses in the political and public domains since the 1980s. As research on nationhood has become known outside academia, the ‘identity formula’ has been taken up again. The second wave of identity discourses are both consciously and unconsciously built on the 19th and early 20th century identity discourse, but have also been helped by the new sector of (cultural) heritage. Cultural heritage has become increasingly important within present-day identity discourses because it has succeeded in combining archaeology, history, anthropology and memory. This mix gives material and immaterial aspects of human life a more equal weight and makes cultural heritage work in a wide range of communities. However, with the emergence of the framework of cultural heritage, a return to the comprehension of cultures as closed entities has occurred.

Since the early 1980s we have experienced a ‘heritage boom’ as the past has been opened to new sectors of society (Lowenthal 1997:5); previously a largely elite or middle class phenomenon, the past is now becoming more of a ‘mainstream’ field of inquiry among people from a variety of social backgrounds (Lowenthal 1997:14). In addition to this it should be noted that there has been a considerable expansion of the middle class. While the motivations behind this revitalisation of fascination in and concern for the past are complex, one of the main reasons lies in our understanding of the relationship between past, identity and belonging. In the last 30 years the social structures within which we conduct our lives have been dramatically altered and this new uncertainty has triggered a second wave of identity discourses. As we are experiencing ‘isolation and dislocation of self from family, family from neighborhood, neighborhood from nation’ (Lowenthal 1997:6), traditionally strong social units, community organisations and institutions lose their positions as important arenas for identity construction, unity and belonging. Living in a world often experienced as chaotic and fluctuating, we seek advice and comfort in the past – periods of time that from a distance come across more stable and ‘safe’ than the present (Eriksen 1996; Lowenthal 1997). As heritage roots us in time, we are able to attest and certify our own

identity by linking it to ‘our ancestors’ (Lowenthal 1997:ix-xi). Thus, it is argued: if we lose our heritage, we are lost (Friedman 1992:837; Lowenthal 1997:5).

Heritage, like archaeology and history, is concerned with the past, but in a slightly different manner: in a more popularised and political way heritage ‘attests our identity and affirms our worth’ (Lowenthal 1997:122). Thus it becomes a field in which traditions are fixated and often fossilised or essentialised (Kockel 2007). Where the practitioners of archaeology and history today emphasise the problems of creating cultural continuities and ‘objective’ interpretations of the past, heritage does the very opposite. Rather than trying to reduce historical bias, heritage sanctions and strengthens it by ‘domesticating’ the past in order to make it appear highly personal. Hence one can argue that heritage shares traits with the very nationally biased 19th and early 20th century archaeology and history as it ‘reverts to tribal rules that makes each past an exclusive, secret possession’. Thus Lowenthal argues that heritage places ‘generate and protect group interests’ and is a benefit ‘only if withheld from others’ (Lowenthal 1997:128). In this sense heritage, more than anthropology, archaeology and history, explicitly improves the past to ‘suit’ the present.

The European identity discourse, taking proper shape from the 1980s, is situated within the second wave of identity discourses. The *Solemn declaration on European Union* and the campaign towards ‘A people’s Europe’ represent the first ideational link between identity and heritage within the EC. The aim of these documents was to develop strategies ‘to further European integration ... to create a united Europe’ (EC 2007 [1983]:24). The EC was to achieve this by intensifying ‘its action in areas hitherto insufficiently explored’ (EC 2007 [1983]:24). In the process from integration to identity, it became increasingly clear that the lack of concern for culture had been a drawback for the integration process. Thus culture was identified as an insufficiently explored area on which to focus to create a ‘new dimension’ in the European integration process. Furthermore, the *Solemn declaration* invited the members of the EC to join together ‘in order to affirm the awareness of a *common cultural heritage* as an element in the *European identity*’ (EC 2007 [1983]:25, my emphasis). As has been discussed above (see 3.1 and 3.1.1), heritage, culture and identity ‘work’ when seen in relation to a given group. Europe is a different ‘entity’ than the nation states; geographically it is bigger and its border is not clear; linguistically it is very diverse; historically it is not a defined unit acting as one. Nevertheless, the European countries share

a number of cultural and historical traits which have enabled the EC to take up the concept of *people* in their campaign of ‘A people’s Europe’.

3.2 *People* – a floating signifier

As discussed above (3.1) the concept of *people* is equivocal. *People* has, however, primarily been used in relation to an ethnic group or a nation-state. In the early and mid 1980s the EC took up the concept of people as a means to strengthen the notion of a European identity: A *people’s Europe* came as a response to the Fontainebleau European Council’s (June 1984) mandate which stated ‘that the Community should respond to the expectations of *the people of Europe* by adopting measures to *strengthen and promote its identity and its image* both for its citizens and for the rest of the world’ (EC 2008 [1984]:229, my emphasis). Within the 19th and early 20th century identity discourses *people* tend to refer to a particular nation. By this logic Europe as a continent would have a number of peoples. However, the concept of *people* is used in singular rather than plural in the document. Thus one refers to the people of Europe in the same way one refers to the people of a nation. By analogy Europe becomes comparable to the entity of a nation state, only at a very different scale. The former nodal point of *people* used within the national discourses is taken up by the EC that tries to redefine the notion of *people*. By trying to alter the meaning of the concept it becomes a floating signifier as the EC tries to make *people*, the *European people*, a nodal point in the European discourse.

There are, however, some challenges with this approach: the only explicit statement made concerning the people of Europe refers to ‘the average European’. Furthermore, it is stated that Europe has yet to be meaningful for the ‘the man in the street’ and that the economic improvement has not left ‘its inhabitants’ with any ‘feeling of belonging to a single entity’ (EC 2007 [1986]:1). This creates a division between the ‘ordinary’ people of Europe and the bureaucratic and political sector of the EC for whom integration really matters. While such a top-down approach worked rather well in 19th and early 20th century nation building, it is less likely to work today as more people are educated and have been socialised into national communities and memories. A second and different obstacle is the fact that none of these documents establish a notion of what European refers to; whether it refers to the EC (which at that point had eleven member states), Western Europe or, the equally ambiguous

geographical area of Europe. Thus, *people* is also a floating signifier in the European identity discourse because the 'content' is very vague. However, as there is no clarification of what the term of European refer to and the term is left open for interpretation.

In 'The *ad hoc* committee on a People's Europe' it is argued that cultural heritage is not 'confined to the territories of the Member States of the Community, nor, for that matter, the frontiers of the States of the Council of Europe'. It is insisted that 'We must therefore avoid any exclusivity in this area and seek cooperation with other European countries' (Adonnino 2007 [1985]-a:21). The reason behind this attitude was only to be explicitly stated nearly a decade later in the report *Europe and the challenge of enlargement* (EC 1992: paragraph 7):

The term European has not been officially defined. It combines geographical, historical and cultural elements which all contribute to the European identity...The Commission believes that it is neither possible nor opportune to establish now the frontiers of the European Union, whose contours will be shaped over many years to come.

As a means to create a notion of what it means to be European, the EC has to establish some form of understanding of what makes Europe European, what kind of qualities and values should be attributed to the people of Europe, if European is to be a meaningful concept and cultural entity in the present. From the mid-1990s onwards the fields of archaeology and heritage concerned with large-scale perspectives on the BA have taken active part of the process of defining European by shedding light on the historical foundations of today's European continent. In the next chapter I will examine how archaeology, heritage and politics together have contributed to the definition of what European should be.

4. The emergence of Europe(ans)

As a cultural construct the meaning of Europe has been invented and reinvented as new collective identities have emerged. Thus Europe has become a concept which definition to a large extent is determined by a given historical context and is therefore fluid and ever-changing (Delanty 1995:1). In the following I will give a brief introduction to the more traditional historical account of ‘the emergence of Europe’ before turning to the implementation of prehistory in the interpretation of the emergence of a European identity.

4.1 Take one: textual and linguistic sources

Textual sources have been the most common way of determining the historical emergence of Europe as a cultural entity, and research has been focused on determining the first references to the concepts of Europe and European. The origin of the term of Europe is not known; it might be related to the Semitic word *ereb*, meaning dusk or Occident (Riekmann 1997:63). However, the term Europe is most commonly associated with the Greek myth of princess Europa. According to Homer, princess Europa was a Phoenician princess who was seduced by Zeus, disguised as a white bull. Europa left her homeland in today’s Lebanon for Crete where she later married the King of Crete. In other myths Europa has also been regarded as the half sister of Asia and Libya (Africa). This indicates that the concept of Europe was an eastern import and that there was no strong sense of division between Greece and the areas further east. On the other hand it also suggests that ‘Europe was not a highly differentiated concept’ (Delanty 1995:17); Greek authors such as Herodotus used the concept of Europe mainly as a geographical reference even though the exact location of Europe varies. An alternative is therefore to examine when *European* is first used as a cultural marker in historical accounts. The story of European unity therefore often begins with the story from the medieval chronicle about the *European* army that, under the command of Charles Martel, stopped the Islamic expansion defeating the Muslims in the battle of Tour Poitiers in AD 732 (Riekmann 1997:67-68 with references; Rothacher 2005:6).

Thus in text-based interpretations, the emergence of Europe has been dated to either Antiquity or the medieval period; prehistoric periods have not formed part of traditional debates concerning the ‘dating’ of the European civilisation. This situation has been altered

as *people* has entered the European discourse in the late 20th century. As discussed in chapter 3, the primordial and essential understanding of nations as rather closed cultural entities made archaeology and prehistory central elements in determining the historical continuity of the people of a given nation. When *people* functions as the nodal point in an identity discourse, the process of defining and rooting the people's qualities and values in the past is central. This makes it possible to go beyond the written sources and present prehistoric periods as golden ages and (national) cultural heritage. As the EC has tried to make *people*, and thus *European*, nodal points in the present-day identity discourse, archaeology and prehistory become integrated in the process of defining the nodal point of *European*.

4.2 Take two: values, qualities and material culture

As argued above, once the concept of *people* is integrated and presented as a nodal point in the European discourse it is possible to draw on former national identity discourses' implementations of the past. This has several implications:

1) It is possible to go beyond the pure textual dating of the emergence of the concepts of Europe and European, and also take into consideration values and qualities that make the people *European*. This means that it is necessary to widen the scope and incorporate socio-cultural practices considered to be central aspects of the given *people*. An implication of this shift of focus is that disciplines such as archaeology and anthropology become a necessity for defining the emergence of the defining traits of a *people*. As such archaeological as well as anthropological interpretations become important for the creation of larger scale collective communities.

2) For the *past* to be perceived as a meaningful and useful moment in identity constructions, the archaeological material tends to be viewed in relation to ideas, values and qualities cherished and thought of as important defining markers in the present. As a result one blends past and present, and this makes it possible to create cultural continuities.

3) Cultural norms are to a large extent differentiated through 'an other'. 'An other' can be characterised as an opposition that enables the identification of a *people* through, amongst other elements, language and way of life. While Europe itself is diverse it has nevertheless been regarded as one when opposed to its most common 'others': the Orient and the New

World. The encounters with peoples of the Orient and the New World led to an increased interest for developing a more precise understanding of European culture's uniqueness.

These aspects represent the cornerstones in the process of interlinking Europe's past and present. In the following analysis I will examine how these strategies are integrated in the source material presented above (see 2.2). I will use the categories of Identity I, Integration, Transition, Identity II and Identities presented in table 1 as a means to divide the material, and highlight the political-historical contexts of the interpretations. For each era an introduction to the political aspects of the European discourse is introduced before the archaeological and heritage interpretations concerning the BA is discussed. In the BA documents the *underlying premises* for interpretations are highlighted, before the *core themes* of the texts are discussed (see 2.3.1).

4.2.1 1900-1945: Identity I

In the first half of the 20th century Europe was politically dominated by nation-states, and it is in itself problematic to speak of a European discourse (as we know it today) at the time: the picture of Europe as a united area and the civilised and progressive centre of the world gradually fell apart (Hayes 1994:1-2; Kaelble 2005:19, 23). Rather than unification the period is therefore characterised by a break up and crisis of Europe (Delanty 1995:100-114). There were, however, a few European-centred organisations and programs that appeared during this period. The German-Austrian dream of a *Mitteleuropa* was established first by the Habsburgs and after World War I taken up by Germany. However, as a political project *Mitteleuropa* was not a pan-European project. Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union was the most well-known pan-European organisation. In his 1923 publication *Panuropa* Europe was considered continental Europe and the European colonies; Britain and its empire as well as the USSR were not included. The geographical understanding of the term Europe was therefore rather different than today's. However, *Panuropa* failed to generate interest among the general public and the nation-state remained the main socio-political framework in the interwar period (Delanty 1995:105-108; McCormick 2005:33-35). As such *people* was a rather stable nodal point in the national discourses not challenged by the sparse European political projects.

While a political discourse concerning the organisational and geographical dimensions of Europe did exist it was very much shadowed by conflicts between nations as well as upheaval within nations. The vague emphasis on the organisational and geographical dimensions was to a large extent a bi-product of the wars and a growing concern for creating a peaceful Europe. At the same time the roots of the present-day ideational dimension of the European discourse emerged as a European-centred prehistory was in the making. These ideas were, however, not articulated in direct relation to pan-European political matters. To use Laclau and Mouffe's terms: *prehistory* had yet to become a moment in which the nodal points of the *people*, *European* and *Europe* were structured.

Underlying premises of the first grand narratives of European prehistory

In addition to culture, evolution and diffusion were core concepts in late 19th and early 20th century Western thought. While the concepts of culture, evolution and diffusion were not always explained or actively discussed in the archaeological interpretations, they can be identified as *underlying premises* that structured the development of the archaeological discourse of prehistoric Europe. As mentioned above the understanding of the concept of culture became vital for the way in which the archaeological material was classified and interpreted. However, culture, and in particular European culture, gained much of its position when seen in relation to the concept of evolution; evolution confirmed the Western linear notion of history as a progressive sequence. Prehistory was therefore largely understood as part of the process culminating in civilisation. While evolution represented the theoretical and conceptual framework for explaining progress, diffusion was understood as the manner in which innovations spread from a centre to the periphery (Eriksen 2004; Olsen 2002; Prescott 1992; Shanks 2001; Svedstad 1995; Trigger 1996). The framework for scientific research on the BA dates back to Montelius' typological work on the BA. Here, however, I will discuss the grand narratives of the 20th century, and in particular V. G. Childe's (1892-1957) work. As will be discussed, the concepts of *culture*, *evolution* and *diffusion* form the *underlying premises* for the first grand narratives of the BA. Yet while these concepts are essential for Childe's interpretations, he nevertheless in some senses broke with the mainstream use of them.

Core themes in early Childean prehistory

The grand narratives of Childe represented a break with the archaeological practice of its time that was largely occupied with the development of regional and national typologies and chronologies. Childe, however, created the first thorough grand narrative of European prehistory and a model for explaining the cultural changes of prehistory. Thus he represents a founding father of the field of a truly European prehistory. However, Childe's interest in archaeology was originally triggered by his concern for finding what he termed the cradle of the Indo-Europeans (Childe 1958). Thus in many ways it is the search for the Indo-European origin that represents the archaeological start of the ideational dimension of the European discourse.

Indo-European studies started out as a field within linguistics concerned with research into the relationship between extinct and current languages of the Indo-European language family (Mallory 1990). Both the prehistorians Kossinna and Childe were trained in linguistics and turned to archaeology as means to determine the origin and spread of the Indo-Europeans, or, as they were commonly referred to then, the Aryans (Childe 1926; Mallory 1990; Trigger 1996). Childe later became highly critical towards his interpretations and came to regard the search for the Indo-European origin fruitless (Childe 1958:69-70; Mallory 1990:143). However, *The Aryans* together with *The dawn of European civilization* and *The most Ancient East – The Oriental prelude to European prehistory* are useful as a means to highlight certain *core themes* in Childe's arguments that also are present in his later works (see 4.2.2). The first of these is the conceptualisation of prehistoric Europe and its relationship with the Near East; the second concerns the relationship between material culture and its role as symbols of values, norms and qualities.

Core theme one: the Near East and Europe

The dawn of European civilization, *The Aryans* and *The most Ancient East* were written in 1920s and were meant to complement each other (Childe 1925, 1926, 1928). In my view these books can be regarded as the start of the archaeological contribution to the ideational dimension of the European discourse. Already in the first edition of *The dawn* Childe's aim was to investigate 'the foundation of European Civilization as a peculiar and individual manifestation of human spirit' (Childe 1925:xiii). Childe presents two schools of thought: a) An Orientalist view that argued that the roots of Western civilisation were to be found in the Ancient East; b) An Occidentalist view that argued that 'all the higher elements in human

culture' originated in Europe itself (Childe 1925:xiii). Childe, however, argued for a middle position where the Orient was seen as a centre for development whilst still emphasising that 'the peoples of the West were not slavish imitators' (Childe 1925:xiii). Rather he argued that the European civilisation was 'a specific and individual expression of human activity [that] only began to take shape during the neolithic (*sic*) epoch' (Childe 1925:1). In this process of Europeanization it is, however, *the BA* that stands out and becomes the nodal point: the BA is considered the period when Europe was capable of not only adapting and adopting, but drawing on the innovations of the Orient in order to develop their own innovations and cultural expressions.

Childe was one of the few archaeologists who had extensive knowledge about both the European and the Near Eastern archaeological material. He was therefore able to contrast and compare the archaeological material and create a model for interaction between the Near East and Europe. Childe had in *The dawn* argued against Kossinna stating that 'Scandinavia was not ahead of other countries, but rather a backwater. ... Everything then points to neolithic (*sic*) culture having begun where the use of metal also began – somewhere to the south' (Childe 1925:17). In *The most Ancient East* the pre- and protohistories of the Ancient East are examined as a means to shed light on prehistoric Europe:

one thread is clearly discernible running through the dark and tangled tale of these prehistoric Europeans: the westward spread, adoption, and transformation of the inventions of the Orient ... The prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology of the Ancient East is therefore an indispensable prelude to the true appreciation of European prehistory. The latter is at first mainly the story of the imitation, or at best adaptation, of Oriental achievements. The record of the achievements themselves is enshrined in the former. (Childe 1928:1-2)

In *The Aryans* Childe was more concerned with how and why Europe advanced from merely adopting the inventions of the Orient. According to Childe this was due to the Aryans' ability to take advantage of the revolutions of the Orient and gradually impose

their authority and culture – partly, if you will, a borrowed culture – on the whole region, ... into a national unity in which western and eastern ideas were blended to an European whole and called forth a progressive society no less brilliant in trade and art than in war. (Childe 1926:211)

Thus the core theme of the *Near East-Europe* relationship enabled Childe to establish a framework where prehistoric Europe expressed an overreaching unity despite its many 'cultures'. This is possible only through the way in which he contrasts Europe and the Orient. Both entities were clearly diverse, but by creating a general synthesis Childe was

able to see Europe and the Near East as opposites where the internal differences were of less importance. As such Childe's argument can be intertextually linked to older philosophical debates on the relationship between the Near East and Europe. While the binary opposition between the Near East and Europe was a fairly new trend in archaeology, the origin of this model is older. It closely related to models made by Western philosophers such as G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) and his notion of Oriental Society and K. Marx's (1818-1883) conceptualisation of an Asiatic mode of production. This way of reasoning can be followed back to French and Scottish school of thought from the Enlightenment where, for example, C. Montesquieu (1689-1755) divided the social organisation into three core forms: despotic, monarchic and republican. The first of which was characterised as Asiatic, where land was controlled by the state and slavery flourished due to its large desert areas where irrigation systems had to be state run. The last two were considered to be of European character, characterised by rule of law, spirit of liberty and a relative societal dominance over the state (Rowlands 1987). Thus in addition of the underlying premises, these influences make the *Near East-Europe-core theme* possible. This dual opposition is further stressed in core theme three as well as in 4.2.2.

Core theme two: bronze and the emergence of science

In addition to the works of the mid 1920s *The Bronze Age* is essential for the development of the European BA discourse. According to Childe, *The Bronze Age* (Childe 1963 [1930]) represented a breakthrough in his archaeological reasoning where he finally was 'committed to an economic interpretation of archaeological data' (Childe 1958:71). This marks an important shift for the European BA discourse as economic interpretations since have been an essential part of the grand narratives of the period. In Childe's case the emphasis on economic interpretations led to a situation where *bronze* comes forth as a core element in the evolution process. For Childe (1963 [1930]:2) the introduction of bronze represented one of the most important shifts in human history as he argues that 'All the vital elements of modern material culture are immediately rooted' in the BA, continuing:

[...] modern science and industry not only go back to the period when the bronze was the dominant industrial metal, their beginnings were in a very real sense conditioned and inspired by the mere fact of the general employment of bronze or copper. (Childe 1963 [1930]:3).

The introduction of bronze was not only seen a sign of technological progress, it was interpreted as a sign of the early emergence of science. In this publication the role of *bronze*

as a means to explain the societal differences between prehistoric Europe and the Near East is not yet developed. The role of material culture in the process of differentiating the European and Near Eastern BA was, however, developed in *The dawn*.

Core theme three: defining European-ness

As noted above Childe operated with a concept of culture in which assemblages of material culture are understood to represent the expressions of particular people. In *The dawn* material culture is used to argue for the difference between the European and Oriental spirit:

We find in Crete none of those stupendous palaces that betoken the autocratic power of the oriental despot. Nor do gigantic temples and extravagant tombs like the Pyramids reveal an excessive preoccupation with ghostly things. The consequences of this distinction are reflected in Minoan art. The Cretan artist was not limited to perpetuating the cruel deed of a selfish despot nor doomed to formalism by the innate conservatism of priestly superstition. Hence the modern naturalism, the truly occidental feeling for life and nature that distinguish Minoan vase paintings, frescoes and intaglios. Beholding these charming scenes of games and processions, animals and fishes we breathe already a European atmosphere. Likewise in industry the absence of the unlimited labour-power at the disposal of a despot necessitated a concentration on the invention and elaboration of tools and weapons that foreshadows the most distinctive feature of European civilization. (Childe 1925:29)

Thus from the difference in the material culture Childe made interpretations and comparisons between the immaterial character of peoples of the Near East and Europe. As such the material expressions become symbols for norms, values and qualities of the peoples who once created the monuments and so forth. In this manner the material culture is also understood as expressions of social and political structures of the societies.

Due to the absence of such monumental structures in the Minoan culture, and even more so in the later BA societies of Europe, the *Europeans* were interpreted as free, independent and innovative. According to Childe the Minoan civilisation was ‘deeply indebted both to Mesopotamia and Egypt’, but it was no mere copy; it had an ‘original and creative force’ (Childe 1925:29). It is further argued that the Minoan civilisation therefore ‘stands out as essentially modern in outlook’ and that ‘[t]he Minoan spirit was thoroughly European and in no sense oriental’ (Childe 1925:29). Furthermore, Childe argued that the variety of tools and weapons served ‘to illustrate the originality of the Minoans and their wide influence in Europe’ (Childe 1925:33). Being able to draw on the technical innovations of the Egyptians and Sumerians it is, for example, argued that the Minoans ‘outstripped the dwellers on the Nile’[s]’ axe technology (Childe 1925:34). From the early Minoan Crete this, so to speak, transforming process of Europeanization can be seen in the spread of type artefacts through

trade. In this way Childe's early works are good examples of the culture historic archaeology's normative understanding of culture; the difference is that he, unlike his contemporaries, interpreted this from a large-scale perspective. The end result is a situation in which the diversity of the European material is united when seen in relation to the Near East.

Core themes in Hawkes' *The prehistoric foundations of Europe*

Inspired by Childe's large-scale perspective C. F. Hawkes (1905-1992) sets out to trace the outline of 'the early foundations of human culture in Europe' in his publication *The prehistoric foundations of Europe* (Hawkes 1940:1). Hawkes builds on Childe's work, and mainly develops the themes introduced in Childe's works. While the *underlying premises* to a large extent are the same, Hawkes' framework nevertheless differs and contributes to the development of different perspectives in the archaeological BA discourse.

Core theme one: the Near East and Europe

Compared to Childe, Hawkes (1940:4) more strongly emphasised the role of the physical surroundings in evolutionary process arguing that 'the whole history is indissolubly bound up with the physical character of Europe itself'. Furthermore, Hawkes (1940:5) argued that the continent of Europe was a 'natural paradise for the play of adaptive vitality' and this vitality was regarded as 'a recurrent characteristic of its inhabitants'.

According to Hawkes it was Europe's geographical position, its 'remoteness and poverty that divided Europe from Mesopotamia or Egypt', that made it 'a naturally imposed safeguard against Orientalization' (Hawkes 1940:382). The early urbanisation and the rise of kings and priests in the Near East are believed to have resulted in a conservative and static society. In Europe, on the other hand, the absence of an urban BA made individuality blossom and made Europe 'mature' so stagnation did not occur when processes of urbanisation set in. Thus Europe was able to adopt technologies from the Orient, but develop its own social structures.

In a Childean fashion, Hawkes (1940:287) put emphasis on the unity in the diversity of the regional territories arguing that '[t]he Danubian, the Western and the Northern Neolithic civilizations have all to a greater or less[er] extent overspread each other's original bounds, and together with that, the vigorous expansion of what we have called the Warrior Cultures'.

According to Hawkes these Warrior cultures linked the greater part of Europe by a 'common increment in material and spiritual culture, by a common factor, it would seem, in language, and by an unevenly spread, but everywhere in some sort of palpable, common contribution by blood' (Hawkes 1940:287). As is discussed below, the emergence and spread of this culture is seen in direct relation to the introduction of bronze.

Core theme two: bronze as science and capital

The introduction of bronze is regarded as an indication of a vital shift in economy, social structure and intellectual development as it is considered the foundation of scientific thought. The smiths are considered indispensable (Hawkes 1940:285). As broken pieces of metal can be recast, Hawkes' conceptualised bronze not only as a precious possession but also as capital. Because bronze is not a readily available material, it created the need for a network of trade routes. Ensuring the security of these trade routes led to a situation where the communities a) had to 'take on special characters ... for protecting ... wealth' (Hawkes 1940:286); b) developed a 'territorial growth of civilization as a whole to adapt itself to an economic geography' (Hawkes 1940:286). Thus the bronze triggered an underlying, pan-European Warrior culture to emerge. The blend of the Orient's different innovations in the local contexts harmonised 'in a positive and original measure, the cultural individuality of the Europeans' (Hawkes 1940:288).

Core theme three: the dating and defining of the 'Europeanization' of Europe

In contrast to Childe, Hawkes discusses the 'Europeanization' in much more detail as he examines this as a long process starting in the Neolithic and culminating with BA. Hawkes (1940:284) identified the roots of the process of a 'Europeanization' of Europe in the Neolithic: 'Neolithic civilization was not created in Europe by the unaided efforts of immigrant Orientals: it was a complex reaction by Europe itself, in which Oriental impulse was blended and transformed into a diversity of essentially European cultures'. Already in the Neolithic the different cultures expressed true individuality that made it possible to draw 'upon native energy and tradition and native opportunities of environment and its resources' (Hawkes 1940:284).

The turning point in European prehistory is seen with the fall of Knossos, ca. 1400 BC. Minoan Crete was a hinder for the full blossom of a truly European civilisation because of its close bonds with the Orient. The fall of Knossos made the Mycenaean civilisation the

supreme of the Aegean. Mycenae was seen as the actual meeting-point of the East and the West and as the seal of an essentially European culture. Thus Hawkes argues that the tale of Theseus and the Minotaur symbolises ‘the winning of mastery in its own house for European civilization as against the Orient’ and the culture of the European stood ‘free of the Oriental debt whence for two thousand years its independence had been slowly matured’ (Hawkes 1940:356, 383). By managing to break the bonds with the Orient a cultural balance emerged in the Middle BA and it was out of this balance that the foundations of Europe emerged.

Hawkes, probably influenced by Childe, links the emergence of Europe to Indo-European languages and their warrior culture. According to Hawkes the ‘spread was largely accomplished before and in the beginning of the Bronze Age’. However, the climate of ‘ethnic and cultural disharmony created by ... centuries of migration, conflict and change was not resolved until the Middle Bronze Age’ when a ‘coherent unity of European civilization’ manifested itself. Thus it argued that the foundation of Europe’s history as a coherent cultural unit lies in the Middle BA (Hawkes 1940:381).

Identity I: conclusions

By combining Montelius’ diffusionism and Kossinna’s concept of culture as well as having a large-scale perspective, Childe presented a completely new interpretative framework for prehistory. Both Montelius and Kossinna’s ideas were modified. Childe rejected Kossinna’s racist tendencies partly by stressing the importance of diffusionism as a tool to reveal the errors of the Nazis. This was possible as Childe saw the interplay between the environment and human-beings as essential for successful adaptations of technologies originated in the Near East (Green 1981:52-55; Trigger 1994:11-12). This interplay between external and internal developments and innovations are most clearly seen in Childe and Hawkes’ interpretations of the European BA; with the introduction of bronze both adoption, adaptation and, more importantly, internal inventiveness are stressed. The large-scale focus combined with diffusionism and a toned-down focus on ethnic groups, contributed to an idea of a united BA Europe that was seen in relation and opposition to the generalised entity of the Orient. It is these aspects which make the interpretations important to the later European discourse.

Childe was the first to use the older Western binary model of Europe versus the Orient actively in an interpretation of archaeological material, and to argue that prehistory provided

the answer to the divergence of Europe and the Near East. As such it provides deep historical roots to the Western idea of the Europe/Orient divergence. Through opposing European and Near Eastern archaeological material, the culture historical approach makes it possible to create an idea of who the prehistoric Europeans were. The table below summarises how the archaeological material becomes expressions of qualities of the European and the Near Eastern peoples:

	MATERIAL CULTURE	SOCIO-POLITICAL INTERPRETATION	NORMATIVE INTERPRETATION
NEAR EAST	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monumental structures such as temples, tombs • Little artistic and technological development once a form is set 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empires rule by kings • Class divisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Totalitarian • Despotic • Static
EUROPE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of large-scale monumental structures • Diverse material expressions – local and regional variations over similar themes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warriors • No strong class division 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic • Economic developments • Original • Individual

Table 2 *Table showing the relationship between the Near East and Europe based on Childe and Hawkes' interpretations.*

Thus while it is problematic to speak of a political European identity discourse at the time, Childe's works were by all means political as they are used to argue against one of the pan-European tendencies of its time (Nazism). Yet they end up contributing towards the definition of the later nodal point of *European* as their ideas are taken up in the 1990s BA campaign. However, their definition is rooted in a tradition that conceptualised culture in a very static as well as colonial manner. While the norm at its time, this becomes a problem when some of their core themes are implemented in the ideational dimension of the European discourse of the late 20th century.

4.2.2 1945-1970: Integration

The end of World War II marks the start of a truly political European discourse, and soon also a political project. The European project of unity emerged out of a quest for peace, a wish to create a political context in which the rivalry of the nation-states would end and with this the need for security in the context of the Cold War (Demossier 2007b:56). As the

political project of European integration was pushed forward, we also see a shift in the understanding of the nation-state. This is clearly expressed in W. Churchill's speech at the University of Zurich on 19 September 1946, a speech which in many ways represented the start of the post-war political discourse and project of European unity (McCormick 2005:59). Churchill's explanatory framework followed the general rationalism of the mid 20th century – a contra-reaction to the irrational and romanticism that the 19th nationalism and nation-states were built on. Within this context nationalism and national pride were accused of being the core causes of the conflicts and wars of the early 20th century (Wæver 2000:151-153).

Churchill's speech is concerned with the future of Europe, and is of particular interest when situating the ideational dimension of the European discourse as he explicitly draws on the European heritage to argue for a more peaceful coexistence (Churchill 2008 [1946]). While the majority of the political projects of the early post-war era were concerned with the organisational and geographical dimensions of the European discourse, Churchill actively used the nature, history, culture and Christian heritage of Europe in order to stress the progress and possibility of Europe. The shared cultural traditions and natural environment function as means to naturalise the need for European co-operation. In order to achieve a 'United States of Europe', Churchill argued that the role of the single state has to change: thus the relationship between the nation-state and the prospect of new pan-European organisations became the core issue to solve for the political project of Europe. Thus the organisational dimension was an important factor in the early years of the European integration discourse. It was therefore economic and political co-operation rather than 'high-sounding abstraction and grandiose historical and cultural claims' (Wæver 2000:151-153), that was the main area of interest in the years moving towards the Cold War. While this is true, the first step towards acknowledging the role of heritage was taken by the CoE's *European Cultural Convention* from 1954.

The convention states that in order to achieve its aim of 'a greater unity between its members' it has to 'safeguard and encourage the development of European culture' as well as 'the study of the languages, history and civilisation of the others and of the civilisation which is common to them all' (CoE 2008 [1954]:2). Article one encourages the member states to develop their 'national contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe' while article three emphasises action 'in promoting cultural activities of European interest'

(CoE 2008 [1954]:2). The stress on a common cultural heritage is again emphasised in article five regarding objects of 'European cultural value' (CoE 2008 [1954]:3). As such the convention builds upon older ideas of the existence of something European as opposed to 'an other'. It also reflects the overall idea of promoting European unity rather than diversity, and as such tones down the national heritage in order to promote the European. Thus while this document does not speak of a European people *per se*, it, by emphasising a common culture and heritage, moves towards challenging the normative idea of *people* as only related to the nation. Yet it does not define or discuss the content of concepts such as European. While this convention recognised the role of heritage for European unity, the overall ideational dimension of the European discourse was weak and archaeological and political discourses were not integrated in a politically motivated European identity discourse.

Underlying premises of the late Childean grand narratives

When comparing Childe's later works of the 1950s to his earlier works it is apparent that the underlying premises of *culture*, *diffusion* and *evolution* are present. However, from being a core theme in his early works, the binary opposition *Europe-Near East* has become an underlying premise and starting point for his last works. Europe's uniqueness is regarded as a fact, and his aim is to explain why the Europeans did not 'remain illiterate Stone Age barbarians as the Red Indians and the Papuans did', and how the European barbarians were able to 'outstrip their Oriental masters' (Childe 1962:7). According to Childe (1962:7-8) it was Hawkes that made him aware of the importance of the BA: 'C. F. Hawkes ... insisted that the European Bronze Age, far from being just a degradation of the Oriental, already exhibited progressive and distinctively European innovations'. Childe's point of departure is therefore that '[i]t was with the Bronze Age that the course of Europe's history – social and economic as well as technological and scientific – began to diverge both from that of the New World and from that of the Ancient East' (Childe 1957:2, see also 1962:7-8; 1973 [1957]:33).

Core themes in late Childean prehistory

The core theme in Childe's later works is explaining how Europe could part from the Orient in the BA. In order to do so, Childe builds on the same core themes he and Hawkes introduced in the 1920s-1940. Hawkes had to a larger extent elaborated on the role of the bronze in the process of Europeanization, and in Childe's last works the *bronze* becomes *the*

material which differentiates European and Oriental BA societies. In addition to attributing the bronze a core role in the Europeanization of Europe, Childe tries to set the events of the BA in a wider European historical context.

Core theme one: bronze as the differentiator

Childe stressed that the BA was more than a technological stage emphasising that a) one got more efficient means of production; b) a new theoretical science emerged with smelting and locating ores (geology); c) the initiation of organised international trade; d) a new population of full-time specialists: the bronze smiths (Childe 1957:3-4). Furthermore it is argued that 'metallurgy was the small beginning of ... secondary industries' (Childe 1957:5). Building on his underlying premise of the relationship between the Orient and Europe Childe puts emphasis on the *societal differences* when he claims that the beginning of the BA in Egypt and Mesopotamia 'coincided with a social revolution – the "Urban Revolution" ... the establishment of totalitarian regimes under which a surplus was systematically extracted from peasant masses and gathered into centralized royal or temple granaries' (Childe 1957:6). He argues that totalitarian economies must have been essential for the early development of metallurgy as a relative large surplus must be present for 'men to adopt the hazardous professions of prospector, miner, smelter, distributor, and smith' (Childe 1957:8). According to Childe this totalitarian economy led to a situation where the people involved in the metal production were liberated from agricultural production only to become completely dependent on the court or temple. While this situation guaranteed the metal producers regular supplies of raw material, it also produced an illiterate lower class of metal producers working on the demand of the court/temple. As a result there was no longer a close relation between the theoretical and applied sides of the metal production.

In Europe, Childe argues, the situation was different: metallurgy developed later and the social setting was different. Rather than cities the Aegean region consisted of smaller townships without strong class division (Childe 1962:150-156). The first manufacturing industries might have been introduced by 'immigrant specialists' who later trained native apprentices that took on and blended traditions from both Egypt and Mesopotamia in order to create a truly Aegean fashion which was progressive and innovative. In contrast to the Oriental craftsmen, the European had not been reduced to an underclass as no class division existed. Rather the European craftsmen were free and could travel about and choose their markets (Childe 1957:9-10). Childe (1962:114, 157) draws on Homer to explain the smiths'

freedom arguing that “‘a craftsman is welcome everywhere’”. The creative and progressive situation was maintained because the Aegean region was too remote to be ‘the victim of Oriental imperialism’ (Childe 1957:10, also 1962:160-161). Even if they were aliens in a society organised around kinship and landless in communities where access to land was ‘the first consequence of membership of the tribe’ (Childe 1957:11, also 1962:169), the European smiths held a particular position in BA society due to their skills and achievements. The travelling smiths gradually created an integrated Europe and from 1500 BC ‘an *international commercial system* linked up with a turbulent multitude of tiny political units’ was established in temperate Europe (Childe 1962:172, my emphasis). In order to sustain the flow of raw materials the smaller city-states or tribes had to surrender their economic independence. This did, however, lead to a situation where ‘they also benefited from a free circulation of ideas and their exponents’ (Childe 1962:172). The figure underneath illustrates how the socially embedded material of bronze becomes the symbol of two different ways of organising social life and two opposite ways of interacting in the social world.

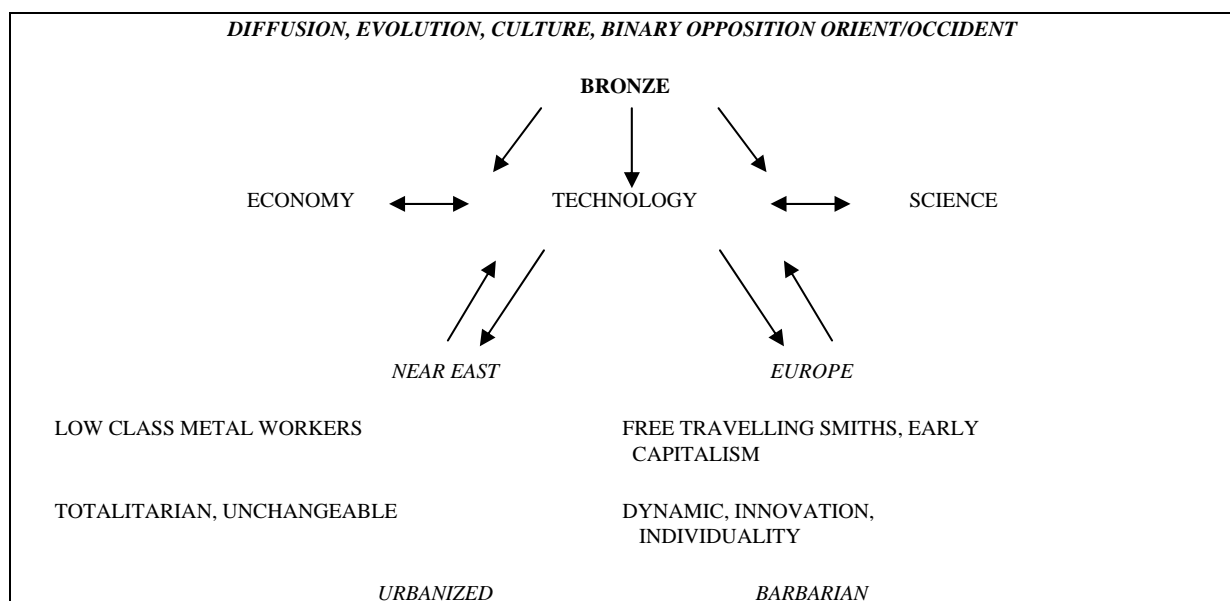


Figure 4 *The structure of Childe's archaeological discourse.*

Core theme two: linking past and present

Seen in relation to the later politically-initiated heritage presentations we can identify another theme which is of intertextual importance for understanding the ideational dimension of the European discourse: the interlinking of past and present. Childe's interlinking of the events of the BA and later European history has a rather small place in his works. However, these sentences are concluding remarks in his last works and in many ways

function to legitimate the ‘long durée’ of the idea of the European identity. According to Childe the early BA smiths represent the first scientists and can be seen as ‘the lineal ancestors of the natural scientists who since Galileo, Newton and Pascal have been pooling their results in an international society’ (Childe 1957:14). Furthermore it is argued that ‘[l]inks between the two groups can be found in the travelling scholars and migrant guildsmen of medieval Europe and in less familiar figures in the Dark Ages and Iron Ages’ (Childe 1957:14). This link between the past and present is further explored in the ending of his last book *The Prehistory of Europe*:

The national states that eventually emerged were indeed enormously larger than our Bronze Age tribes and fewer in number. But they have all shown themselves just as mutually jealous in policy and as competitive economically. All have been increasingly dependent on a supra-national economic system for vital raw materials as well as the disposal of their own products. While peasantries have often been reduced to serfdom even more rigorously than under the despotic monarchs of the Bronze Age Orient, craftsmen, the exponents of applied science, have preserved their traditional freedom of movement within a supranational economy. The metics at Athens, the way-faring journeymen of the Middle Ages, and the migrant craft unionist of the nineteenth century are the lineal descendants of the itinerants just described. But so were the Natural Philosophers and Sophists in Classical Greece, the travelling scholars of medieval Europe, and the natural scientists who from the days of Galileo and Newton have freely exchanged information and ideas by publication, correspondence, and visits regardless of political frontiers. (Childe 1962:172-173).

As such the BA really becomes the dawn of European civilisation and a period where a number of traits of European society can be traced back to.

Integration: conclusions

As noted above this is a period where a politically-initiated European discourse was established. The discourse was, however, mainly concerned with the more practical organisation of Europe, the ideational dimension had yet to develop properly in a political context and the archaeological and political discourses existed as two separate discourses. As the ideational dimension was not fully developed, the later nodal point of a *European people* still had to challenge its normative connection to the nation. As a politically conscious person it is at least highly likely that Childe was very much aware of the early process of European integration. With a growth in the emphasis on Europe and a belief in restoring Europe, a proper prehistory for Europe would seem more politically, if not correct, at least possible at the time.

Childe makes the BA come across as the grand start of European society and as such makes prehistory essential for our self-understanding as Europeans. While this way of reasoning

further provides the ideational dimension of the European discourse with historical depth and authenticity, it is problematic from an archaeological point of view. When examining Childe's argument it soon becomes apparent that the positive connotations of dynamism, innovation, individuality and freedom are not discussed in relation to any material complex in particular. In other words the argument tends to be organised around ideas of the present rather than from the archaeological material. This is one of the shortcomings of Childe's authorship and one reason why his later arguments remained speculative and never achieved the same status as his groundbreaking work of the early 20th century. Childe's arguments of the late 1950s are more extreme than in 1920s, and they become even more out of place due to the fading position of culture historic archaeology and the new method of radiocarbon-dating.

Critical voices, including Childe himself, had already raised doubts about the scientific value of the culture historic methods and concepts in the 1930s (Childe 1933; Johnson 1999:20-22; Olsen 2002:40-44). This critical attitude towards the culture historic approach was further strengthened after World War II when archaeologists were faced with the implications of the Nazis' political misuse of archaeological interpretations of prehistoric cultures. By the late 1950s archaeology was at a crossroads as the culture historic approach was gradually challenged by ecological and functionalistic approaches and the style of grand narrative was losing terrain (Prescott 2007:16). While Childe was conscious about the dangers of the culture historic approach, he never developed new methods or theoretical frameworks to properly challenge it. His last works on European prehistory do not take up the critical attitude of his time; rather they are embedded in the culture historic tradition – the tradition that he had been the true master of some decades earlier. Entering the 1970s the European BA archaeology became more concerned with small-scale processes, whether it was from an economic or environmental perspective, often situated within a national context. The political situation within the EC was, however, faced with new challenges.

4.2.3 1970s: Transition

By the 1970s the EC was at a crossroads: on the one hand the organization was extended with the accession of Britain, Denmark and Ireland, yet the neofunctional theory of integration was failing. The international order established after 1945 was also falling apart with the dollar collapse in the 1971 and the oil crisis of 1973. As a means to re-establish

international order and strengthen Europe's world position, the *Document on the European identity* was created in 1973 (Malmborg and Stråth 2002:11-12; Stråth 2001b:19-20). Thus a core aim of the document was to clarify Europe's external relations, rather than define its internal structure (Horváth 2008:71). B. Stråth (2001b:19) points out that the 'launching of the idea of a European identity meant, of course, that such a phenomenon had not existed previously'. Thus with this document the first steps towards an understanding of the EC and Europe as a cultural area with a particular European identity was established. With the notion of a European identity, national identities were gradually challenged, and grounds for establishing a notion of a European people were founded.

Document on the European identity from 1973 is the only document explicitly concerned with the issue of a *European identity*. The document stresses that countries of the EC have left past enmities behind and are working towards achieving unity considered 'a basic European necessity to ensure the survival of the civilization which they have in common' (EC 1988 [1973]:49). Furthermore it states that it is the

... diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe ...

that give 'the European identity its originality and its own dynamism' (EC 1988 [1973]:50). It is argued that they share the 'same attitude to life based, on a determination to build a society which measures up to the needs of the individual', determination to defending 'the principles of representative democracy, of rule of law, of social justice – which is the ultimate goal of economic progress – and of respect for human rights'. Furthermore they share a common market 'based on a customs union, and have established institutions, common policies and machinery for co-operation' (EC 1988 [1973]:49).

The term civilisation can be read as a means to give the need to unite Europe an historical dimension; one is, so to speak, returning to the original state of being a European civilisation rather than a number of nation-states. The Europe that is presented shares the same values and qualities such as originality, dynamism, individualism that Childe, some decades earlier, argued were European trademarks emerging in the BA. Of course this does by no means indicate that Childean prehistory was a source of inspiration. Rather it shows that there are some vague and cross-disciplinary ideas believed to be central to European culture. During the last centuries some additional qualities and values, such as democracy and human rights,

are presented as the truly European aspects of European civilisation's later phase. In general we find the same positive understanding of European-ness both in early archaeological literature and political document of the 1970s. However, the geographical idea of Europe is more ambiguous in the political context of the 1970s: in 1973 the EC only consisted of nine member states. Thus the majority of the countries within the geographical area of Europe were not part of the EC.

In addition to the document on identity, two other documents of importance were produced in the 1970s, *European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans, Prime Minister of Belgium, to the European Council* (Tindemans 2008 [1975]) and *Community action in the cultural sector* (EC 2008 [1977]). While I will not discuss these documents in detail they should be mentioned as they are the first documents to discuss European citizenship and culture in some detail. In the 1970s, however, culture and citizenship are not directly related to the early identity discourse. These early documents do, nevertheless, highlight the need for a frontier-less Europe where people as well as cultural goods can move safely and freely in order 'to give Europeans of tomorrow a personal and concrete impression of the European reality and a detailed knowledge of our languages and cultures since these constitute the common heritage which the European Union aims specifically to protect' (Tindemans 2008 [1975]:28); topics which later were integrated in EC policy documents. Furthermore, co-operation and the relationship between the EC and the CoE on cultural matters are clarified; while the cultural sector largely refers to the commercial sector, CoE is to continue its research on culture – defining, updating and adapting basic concepts on culture (EC 2008 [1977]:6). Thus these documents highlight the fact that both culture and citizenship, which from the 1980s onwards become central aspects of European identity politics, do have a longer history in the EC.

Local and regional archaeologies of the 1970s

The closest we come to a BA grand narrative in this period is J. M. Coles and A. F. Harding's *The Bronze Age in Europe*. The aim of the book is to provide a much needed and updated reference work on the European BA. Thus it is meant as a benefit for the archaeological community of students and teachers. In contrast to the previous works of Childe (except Childe 1963 [1930]) and Hawkes it concerns the BA rather than European prehistory, and the archaeological material is historically structured into two large sections

on a) the earlier BA, and b) the later BA. Each of the periods is geographically structured into chapters on the regions of Central, Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern Europe. Thus it covers all of Europe with the exception of the Aegean area. Due to the organisation of the chapters into topics such as settlements, burials, material remains, economy and so forth it is easy for the reader to compare the regions. The authors do, however, rarely draw parallels between the regions and it is to a large extent up to the reader to do so. This makes the book a good example of the regional tendencies within the archaeology of the period and as a result it also downplays the ‘story of Europe’ which tends to be central in the grand narratives. As the main focus is presenting the regional diversity rather than drawing large lines its focus is essentially different than the grand narratives, and like much of the overview publications of the 1960s and 1970s (for example Piggott 1965) it is to a large extent descriptive. The introduction and conclusion do, however, mark out some general tendencies similar to the grand narratives which will be briefly discussed here.

While presenting the regional diversity of the BA, they nevertheless argue that one of the remarkable features of the period is ‘the uniformity in the development of metallurgical techniques and products throughout the various natural regions of Europe’ as well as the close correspondences in grave goods (Coles and Harding 1979:10). This is further stressed in the conclusion of the book where they recognise important social and economic transformations in the period 1500-1200 BC such as changes in settlement patterns and material culture as well as more general tendencies, for example, ‘the rise of the privileged’, development of long-distance trade and in particular movement of metal. Echoing Childe they also argue that ‘travelling smiths, entrepreneurs and organizers must have been at work’ (Coles and Harding 1979:535). After having listed a number of fields in need of improvement for BA research to further progress, they, in a grand narrative fashion, conclude that

The Bronze Age, in fact, is the great formative period for later European history, the period when most of the subsequent social, economic and technical developments occurred that continued unchanged, except for shifts of emphasis, until the Renaissance. Only a few of the major arts and skill, most notably writing, were not present somewhere in “barbarian” Europe during the Bronze Age, and most of the rest were present in Greece. It is this above all that makes the Bronze Age a period of crucial importance in the development of European culture and society. (Coles and Harding 1979:539)

Thus while this book does not follow the general idea of the BA as the dawn of European civilisation, it nevertheless stresses the BA’s transformative importance for Europe. The difference is, however, that this statement is not linked to idea of the Europeanization of

Europe. In this sense it moves away from the grand narratives, yet it does not, however, manage to distance itself from the rather monotonous focus on chronology and typologies present in the culture historic interpretations.

Transition: conclusions

The 1970s represents a period when the EC formally starts to recognise the problems with the neofunctional integration approach and is faced with the need of discussing its 'identity' as more countries joined. With the first documents concerned with identity, culture and citizenship one gradually moves towards an understanding of what the EC wants its nodal point of *European* to be. As it operates with statements regarding the *European culture*, it implicitly moves towards an idea of a *European people*. This is not, however, properly developed, and archaeology does not form part of this early ideational discourse. Even if the political discourse had been more mature, it is unlikely that archaeology would have been integrated; while the archaeology of the period had left the culture historic approaches, it had yet to properly confront and debate the Nazis' political misuse of archaeological interpretations. This leads to a situation where less dubious and seemingly un-political topics such as environment and economic studies dominate Western archaeology. Coles and Harding's book is situated within this tradition, but the topic itself, BA Europe, belongs to an older tradition of large-scale studies. Their introduction and conclusion bear witness of this. The archaeological and political discourses are not, however, integrated, and it is problematic to speak of a strong European identity discourse at the time. Thus the book should not be read as part of an emerging political concern for a European identity.

4.2.4 1980-2000: Identity II

By the 1980s there was little indicating that the EC had established a notion of a European identity among its members. As a response to this situation, the challenge of establishing a Europe the general public could identify with was addressed in the documents of the *Solemn declaration on European Union* (EC 2007 [1983]) and those concerned with 'A people's Europe' (Adonnino 2007 [1985]-a, b; EC 2007 [1986]; Muhr 2007 [1985]). In particular the Adonnino reports on 'A people's Europe' were influenced by the findings of the Tindemans report produced a decade earlier. Together the *Solemn declaration* and the documents

concerning ‘A people’s Europe’ form important guidelines for the process of strengthening the European identity and as such enhance the idea of a European people.

As a means to achieve its aim of a united Europe, the Preamble of the *Solemn declaration* states that ‘the Community must strengthen its cohesion, regain its dynamism and *intensify its action in areas hitherto insufficiently explored*’ (EC 2007 [1983]:24, my emphasis). One of the areas *insufficiently explored* in the early 1980s was the area of culture. Thus culture became an important addition, a ‘new dimension’, in the European integration process. In addition to culture, identity became a key concept to work towards further integration:

1.1 The Heads of State or Government, on the basis of an awareness of a common destiny and the wish to affirm the European identity, confirm their commitment to progress towards an ever closer union among the peoples and Member States of the European Community.
(EC 2007 [1983]:25, my emphasis)

Thus the *Solemn declaration* invited the members of the EC to join together ‘in order to *affirm* the awareness of a *common cultural heritage* as an element in the *European identity*’ (EC 2007 [1983]:25, my emphasis). What is essentially noteworthy here is the fact that the document urges the member states to *affirm* their common European identity – in other words, it starts from the notion that there is actually an existing European identity. The affirmation of the European identity is to be achieved by improving the ‘information on *Europe’s history and culture* so as to promote a European awareness...’ and to undertake ‘joint action to protect, promote and safeguard the cultural heritage’ (EC 2007 [1983]:28, my emphasis). Not directly linked to the promoting of a nodal point of *people*, it nevertheless moves in that direction focusing on Europe’s common heritage and culture.

‘A people’s Europe’ came as a response to the Fontainebleau European Council’s (June 1984) mandate, and was to strengthen the European identity (EC 2007 [1986]:1). Through a stronger focus on identity, symbolic images, as well as the Europeans living within the EC, Europe was to become more meaningful in their daily life. With this document the idea of a *European people* is formally established, and the European identity in this period is constructed in opposition, in particular, to national identities. As noted above (chapter 2), we also see an increase in academic interest in the nation-states and nationalisms in the 1980s. This research in many ways deconstructed and systematised the symbolic and social strategies used to establish strong nation-states (for example Anderson 1991; Gellner 1990). When building their identity, the EC drew heavily on these experiences (Horváth 2008:72-73; Jansen 1999; Shore 1993:791) in order to create European symbols and traditions, such

as the EC's flag (designed in 1983) and the Europe day (9 May) as well as the European anthem ('Ode to Joy' by L. Beethoven, both implemented in 1985), to cater for the symbolic need to develop an ever closer union. The European passport, driving licence, stamps, a ritual calendar stressing European weeks, yearly themes such as European cinema and television as well as the European cities of culture from part of this package (Demossier 2007b:56; Shore 1993:788-789). In addition this symbolic package, a European dimension was to be implemented in European education and through exchange programs such as ERASMUS and SOCRATES that encouraged students to take part of their studies abroad. Thus the idea of Europe is disseminated to the younger generation – a strategy used in nation-building (Bøe 1995:49; Horváth 2008; Rothacher 2005:143-150). As such the EC takes the same measures to make the nodal point of *European people* meaningful and felt among the inhabitants as is common in the nation-states.

While the practical solutions to the vague and ambitious goals of the documents of the 1980s remained unclear, the importance of the cultural turn is obvious as a cultural aspect for the first time is integrated in a legal treaty, *Treaty on European Union*, in 1992, Title IX: Culture, article 128¹. It is stated that 'The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore'. While seemingly stressing and respecting the diversity, it is, nevertheless, essentially its communality, through its shared cultural heritage, which is its goal. Thus the treaty follows, somewhat moderately, both the *Solemn declaration* and the *European cultural convention*. Furthermore, and of importance here, it aims to foster co-operation with international organizations concerned with culture, in particular the CoE. During the late 1990s the first EU cultural programs (Kaleidoscope, Ariane and Raphaël) were established, and a more defined cultural policy was gradually established. Yet, while the concept of culture is constantly referred to, it, like the concepts of Europe(an), remains undefined. However, culture holds an ambiguous position: on the one hand it is in need of protection, and on the other, as heritage, it is the key to 'unity' (Horváth 2008:74). At the same time we also see a stronger focus on citizenship, first with the *Treaty on European Union* (Article G: Part two, European

¹ Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty is renumbered article 151 in the Treaty of Amsterdam.

Citizenship, article 8²) and then with the *Amsterdam Treaty* in 1997 (Demossier 2007a:2). However, during the 1990s the concept of citizenship was not directly bound up to the cultural domain, and in many ways shadowed by the focus on identity. Thus before being properly established, there are tendencies within the *Treaty on European Union* which challenge the emerging nodal point *European people*. Yet the early stages of the European heritage campaigns in the 1990s echo the 1980s political idea of using heritage as a tool to affirm the European identity.

Underlying premises of the archaeological grand narratives of the 1990s

While for the first time we get a heritage perspective on the BA grand narratives (see below), a more archaeological concern for the large-scale transformation in later European prehistory emerged in the late 1980s and the early 1990s (Kristiansen 1994, 1998b; Sherratt 1993). Due to the similar theoretical foundations of the works of Kristiansen and Sherratt they will be discussed together. However, as Sherratt's account is more condensed and more specifically concerned with BA, I will mainly draw on case examples from his article. Unlike the earlier grand narratives these interpretations are concerned with integrating the archaeological material and have a more rigorous theoretical framework. *Theory* is thus an underlying premise for the way in which the authors approach the transformations of later European prehistory. Another underlying premise for these interpretations is the *long-term historical perspective*. Hence the second generation of grand narratives share Childe and Hawkes' large-scale and long-term perspective on interaction as well as regard BA as the start of the transformations of prehistoric Europe. However, unlike the earlier grand narratives these interpretations view the process and transformation of BA as part of *later* prehistory and in particular Kristiansen (1994; 1998b) views these changes as the backbone of the events in the Iron Age (IA) leading to the Roman Empire.

Core themes in the world system approaches to later prehistoric Europe

According to Kristiansen it is during the BA we see the first occurrence of a truly international network of metal trade and exchange where regions became dependent on each other (Kristiansen 1998b:1). Their core theme is *the process by which the various areas of Europe gradually became economically and ideologically linked during the BA*. As a means to conceptualise this process they draw on the world system theory. Mixing F. Braudel's

² Article G of the Maastricht Treaty is renumbered article 8 in the Treaty of Amsterdam.

historical perspective and A. G. Frank and S. Amin's economic theories on 'the development of underdevelopment', I. Wallerstein developed the world system theory in the 1970s (Sherratt 1993:48). While Wallerstein's aim was to explain Europe's expansion of the sixteenth century AD, both Kristiansen and Sherratt, influenced by P. Kohl, argue for the emergence of a European world system in the BA.

Core theme one: the emergence of the European world system

The world system theory is constructed around the nodal points of *centre* and *periphery*, which in a pure diffusionist archaeological interpretation would refer to the Near East and Europe. Kristiansen and Sherratt do, however, create a more nuanced perspective by tracing the historical development from the Late Neolithic (only Sherratt) all the way through the BA to the Early IA (mainly Kristiansen). In addition to the core/periphery relation, Sherratt introduces the concept of margin. Sherratt identifies Europe as the margin, but unlike earlier diffusionist approaches, the margin is equally transformable as the Near Eastern region. With urbanisation, the Near Eastern area is characterised by a centre/periphery relation in which Europe still represents the margin. The changes in the Near East effected the developments in BA Europe, and the spread of new material culture (clothes, furniture, vehicles, metal objects) as well as practices (drinking) and technologies (metal production) brought 'a new range of products to consume and trade in' (Sherratt 1993:15). These elements gradually transformed the margin, both economically and ideologically during the period 3500-2500 BC. An important factor in this process of the establishment of bronze as the standard exchange measurement, and from 2500 BC Sherratt (1993:17-18) argues that bronze had become such a medium.

During the BA a growth in the marginal trade can be identified, as can growth in long-distance trade between various regions within Europe as well as further east. Contrary to Childe and Hawkes, Sherratt stresses that the origin of the contact networks between Anatolia and Central Europe in the 3rd millennia lie not in the Aegean as it in itself was peripheral to the centres in Anatolia (Sherratt 1993:23). However, towards the end of the 3rd millennia the Aegean region can be regarded as a periphery of Anatolia with Crete eventually becoming a core-area. Further contacts with Anatolia are stressed during the period of 1800-1600 BC; Near Eastern material culture such as the spearhead appears in Europe (Sherratt 1993:25). During the Middle BA (1600-1300 BC) larger parts of the Mediterranean were urbanised, and polythetic, or indirect, trading relations were established

from the 'Black Sea along the Danube and from Transylvania to Scandinavia' (Sherratt 1993:30) and later between Scandinavia, the Alps, Italy and Greece. As Europe was linked up in a chain of regional economies contributing with specialised products to the extensive inter-regional networks, the decline of the Mycenaean core area (1200 BC onwards) had effects on all of its interlinked areas. Thus the world system theory highlights the interconnectedness of Europe. As such it represents a shift in the idea of prehistory as immobile.

Core theme two: European uniqueness?

In many ways these world system approaches highlight the unique character of the European BA arguing that had the BA transformations not occurred, European societies were likely to have evolved in a similar fashion as in North America (Sherratt 1993:14). Or as Kristiansen (1998:56) argues:

The Bronze Age is in certain aspects historically unique. For nearly two millennia it unified Europe within a common framework of interacting exchange networks, a repetitive dialectic between maintaining regional traditions and interacting across their boundaries, between sharing international value systems and recontextualising them locally and regionally, between openness and closure. In some ways this is a dynamic it shares with Europe today (the EC), though under completely different social and economic conditions.

Thus, contrary to Childe and Hawkes this unique situation is not linked to the emergence of Europeanization of Europe; Kristiansen, in particular, stresses the problems of tracing 'historically known ethnic groups back in time' (Kristiansen 1998:406).

Sherratt and Kristiansen show that the reasons for Europe's developments in later prehistory are due to a complex interplay between social, geographical and environmental factors. Together these factors create a context in which BA Europe is able to become an important margin of the Near East's centre/periphery, yet 'escapes' the interdependence with the core and development into archaic states (Kristiansen 1994:21-24; 1998b:415-419; Sherratt 1993:14, 43). Seen in relation to the former grand narratives of Childe and Hawkes, Kristiansen and Sherratt's use of the world system theory enable them to present a rather different Near East-Europe relationship. The developments within Europe are directly linked to transformations in the Near East and as such these interpretations view the Near East and Europe as relational rather than oppositional, yet not to the same extent as in *The rise of Bronze Age society* (see 4.2.5).

Underlying premises of the archaeological heritage grand narratives of the 1990s

The political events of post-1989 Europe resulted in a situation in which there was a pressing need for debating and defining the new Europe. As a result the ideational dimension for the first time became truly interdisciplinary, past and present, archaeology and politics were integrated through the field of heritage. Essentially the most important *underlying premise* for the archaeological heritage interpretations is the particular *political climate* of the time: (1) the heritage interpretations were politically initiated and directly linked to the new interest for creating a pan-European identity. Equally important is (2) the more theoretical approach to the creation of a collective identity and memory. Based on the experiences from the era of nationalism A. D. Smith argued that the European identity lacked a common *European* prehistory that could 'provide it with emotional sustenance and historical depth' (Smith 1992:62). An important issue to be addressed in the 1990s was therefore whether there existed a truly European prehistoric period (Graves-Brown, et al. 1996 (a result of the 1992 EuroTAG); Moscati, et al. 1991; Shennan 1989a, b).

(3) The third underlying premise is the establishment of a golden age which is suitable for this new identity. The chosen period had to meet a number of criteria: a) the period could not be 'national', b) it had to geographically cover the whole of Europe and c) in some way or another it had to be identified as truly European. These problems had become visible in another of the large-scale exhibition of the early 1990s – *The Celts* (Moscati, et al. 1991): the Celts are not representative for the whole of Europe, they are, on the contrary, closely connected to local, regional and national identities (for example Collis 1996; Cunliffe 2003; Fitzpatrick 1996). From a more historical point of view, the Celts were never considered the origin of Europe (see 4.1). Thus in 1994 the CoE decided upon the BA (Jensen 1999a; Lowenthal 1994, 2000), because it, rather unlike the Celts, in many ways represents a period *par excellence* for European unity:

a) While thought of as the origins of both the French nation, the identity of the Scandinavian societies and Germanic culture in the 19th century (Mohen and Eluère 2000:18-19), the BA never reached the same popularity as the early historic periods in the construction of national pasts.

b) While one can observe regional traditions within 'BA Europe', there has, rather unlike both the Neolithic and the Iron Age, been little tradition for dividing the BA material into

distinct cultures and peoples (Childe 1925; 1926, 1962, 1963 [1930]; Coles and Harding 1979; Hawkes 1940; Jensen 1999a; Kristiansen 1998b; Mohen and Eluère 2000; Renfrew 1994; Sherratt 1993). The apparent lack of peoples, cultures and ethnic groups makes it, at least in theory, possible to speak of the BA inhabitants as true prehistoric Europeans (Gröhn 2004:145-146).

c) The themes of economy, trade, technology and prosperity structured the BA research prior to its status as 'Europe's first golden age'. These themes become central in the BA grand narrative that the CoE draws on in order to establish a sense of continuity between the past and the present inhabitants of Europe (Trotzig 2007 [1994]).

This was recognised by the CoE in the early 1990s. At a three day gathering in September 1994 the CoE introduced its program 'Heritage and Society' and launched the *European plan for archaeology* (Lowenthal 1994:377). A key point of the Valletta Convention (1992) is 'to protect the archaeological heritage as a source of European collective memory', and as a means to achieve this, the CoE's *European plan for archaeology* developed five activities for the upcoming five year period. One of these activities was the organisation of a campaign which was 'to increase the public awareness of the value and significance of the archaeological heritage, based on the theme of **"The Bronze Age"**' (AH 2008, bold in original). Initiated by the European Council the idea of the BA as the first golden age of Europe was realised during the period of 1994-1996, and the goal of the later exhibition of 'Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age' 'was to present the concept of a culturally unified Europe to a broad public' (Demakopoulou, et al. 1999:5). In addition to a glossary on European BA monuments, a special issue of *European heritage*, 'The Bronze Age – the first golden age of Europe' was published and a number of conferences were held. The main event was, however, the trans-national exhibition called 'Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age – Europe at the time of Ulysses'.

Core themes in the archaeological heritage presentations

Within the *European heritage* issue of 'The Bronze Age – the first golden age of Europe', the exhibition catalogue *Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age – Europe at the time of Ulysses* and the book *The Bronze Age in Europe. Gods, heroes and treasures* one can recognise common archaeological themes such as the birth of Europe and life and death of the heroes and gods. These are themes which become directly linked to the politically

initiated aims of presenting the BA as a) a time when Europe was culturally unified; b) a period of particular importance for the emergence of European civilisation. Hence, the BA heritage discourse becomes centred on the old identity practice of creating cultural continuities, a practice largely left behind in Western archaeology of the 1990s. However, as *heritage* presentations these politically initiated themes are explicitly and implicitly presented and discussed in the interpretations. While the archaeological themes discussed below are freestanding themes, they are also, and more important here, part of a larger political idea of heritage as essential for the creation of a European identity.

Before discussing the themes in more detail some general remarks are necessary. While written by archaeologists, all of *these publications are made for the public*. With the exception of the online issue of *European heritage*, they all are richly illustrated with photos and figures of BA material culture. In such a way they are much more pleasing to the eye than many archaeological articles and books. Generally speaking the publications rarely have references in the texts, and consist of short articles and sections to make it easier to get an overview of the different aspects of the period. To what extent this really is successful is another matter: the majority of the texts often include a number of references to and details about specific objects/sites etc which in some ways make them resemble Childe's overwhelming culture historic interpretations. With very extensive detailed information the 'grand narrative' and argumentative flow have a tendency to be well hidden even though the publications are seemingly well organised into thematic sections. A possible explanation for this is that archaeologists are not necessarily the best to disseminate information in a readily accessible way for the general public. Another reason might be the fact that while the political project of presenting unity is an underlying premise, the archaeologists are eager to also stress diversity to make a more balanced account of the BA (e.g. Demakopoulou, et al. 1999:5).

Core theme one: the birth of Europe

Writing has a central position in European cultural history, and the first writing systems, Hieroglyphic script and Linear A, emerged on Crete some time between the end of the 3rd and the end of the 2nd millennia BC. Neither of these early writing systems has been deciphered. However, they both are related to the palace administration of the Minoans something which is also true for Linear B that spread throughout the entire Aegean. Unlike the former languages, M. Ventris deciphered Linear B in 1952. While writing is seen as

essential for the birth of Europe, it nevertheless bear close resemblance to the Orient: '[i]n Greece and on Crete, just as in Mesopotamia and Egypt, writing appears to have been associated with the integration of a large number of individuals into an economic and political system based on the presence and activity of sizeable palatial residences' (Godart 1999:187). Thus the Near East-Europe relation is, in accordance with the archaeological grand narrative of the period, much more relational than in Childe's interpretations. The works of Homer is used to 'illuminate the development of Europe from its Bronze Age roots' and to show how '[e]ssential elements of western culture and thought can be traced to their origins in Homer's texts' (Demakopoulou, et al. 1999:7).

While the problems related to dating the content of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are stressed, it is nevertheless argued that they are to be set within the Mycenaean BA (Jensen 1999a; Mohen and Eluère 2000). It is therefore inevitable that in particular the Minoan-Mycenaean areas stand out as the more important part of the publications as they represent 'the beginning of Greek history. It thus is also placed at the beginning of European history' (Demakopoulou 1999b:186). In other words: the written word and textual universe of Homer are presented as essential for defining the birth of Europe. Homer's work does, however, also become a tool for conceptualising the BA elite.

Core theme two: BA heroes

A central part in CoE's interpretation of BA Europe is the Homeric hero, that is, the kings and nobles of the palaces of Mycenaean and pre-Classical Greece. The idea is, however, used as a means to understand the rich burials and splendid objects from other areas of Europe as well. It should, nevertheless, be noted that idea of the hero is present mainly in the section headings whilst in many of the articles the idea of the hero is not actively used. Hence I will in particular deal with the articles which explicitly discuss the life and death of the BA hero.

At the turn of the 2nd millennium BC a transformation of societies outside the Aegean took place as the demand for metal increased. The result is a change in the expressions of power, wealth and status due to the manifestations of a metal aristocracy throughout Europe. While differing from area to area, the symbols of power become similar (Jensen 1999c:92). As the hero is understood as a male warrior, heroic life is centred round the material aspects of war and war ceremonies. First the dagger, and from the Middle BA the sword, are viewed as the

heroes' *insignia dignitas*. Furthermore it is argued that weapons such as daggers, halberd and axes were of an 'international' character and 'always used in a ceremonial context' (Jensen 1999c:93). Thus the establishment of a pan-European family of noble heroes was a result as well as a product of the transalpine trading system.

The journey is presented as particularly important for the self-understanding and differentiation of the BA hero from ordinary people, and Ulysses functions as the ideal hero. The hero is, through an initiation of travelling, set apart from the rest of society. During the course of such travel the hero acquires new skills and knowledge and becomes familiar with the world outside the farming universe in which he grew up (Priego 1999). However, the aspect of travelling also provides an explanation for why certain objects become important for the nobility. Acquired during travelling or through contacts these objects can only be in the hands of the few. Within the noble sphere, power is illustrated by ability to own, acquire and exchange precious objects – whether it is armour, jewellery or vehicles. Understood as gifts these objects symbolised alliances among the chieftains (Jockenhövel 1999:57).

With the growth of an almost pan-European nobility it is argued that 'an individualising tendency emerged, resulting in increased individual burial' (Jensen 1999c:92). As such a societal shift from a more group-oriented society of the Neolithic is stressed. While the Mycenaean civilisation entered a period of crisis and collapse in the 13th century BC, it is argued that the warrior hero 'was increasingly reflected in the weaponry of transalpine Europe, though in a fashion adapted to local conditions in central and northern Europe' (Jensen 1999c:97). The chariot is used as a means to 'prove' this argument: once a symbol of power in the Mycenaean area, the two-wheeled chariot is transformed to a four-wheeled chariot in the north functioning as ceremonial gear (Jensen 1999c; Pare 1999; Thrane 1999). It is not only the warrior hero that transgresses the national borders of Europe; the BA cosmology is perhaps an even better example.

Core theme three: BA cosmology

With the growth of post-processual archaeology the topics of religion and cosmology have again become important aspects of mainstream archaeology. The title of the exhibition, 'Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age', indicates the importance of religion in BA Europe. Presented as European heritage, religion gets an even more central aspect in the BA

as religious themes ‘recur throughout all of Europe’ (Eluère 1999b:132) and ‘serve to manifest the spiritual unity of the European continent in the Bronze Age’ (Anati 1999:142).

While the knowledge of the actual gods of the BA is very limited, the existence of a rich BA cosmology is highlighted. Throughout BA Europe cosmological life manifested itself materially in a number of different ways: from rock art to sacred grottoes, monuments, stelae, figurines, depositions, burial practices and ‘cult’ objects of bronze and gold (Anati 1999; Capelle 1999; de Marinis 1999; Eluère 1999a, b; Jorge 1999a, b; Marthari 1999; Menghin 1999; Scarre 1999; Springer 1999; Todorova 1999). This material diversity is, however, united by a number of symbolic motives such as the bird, sun, horse and wagon. The appearance of similar motives is seen in relation to the idea of travelling heroes and the wide reaching contact-networks: with an already fairly socio-economically integrated Europe, similar religious attitudes towards life is to be expected. A clear indication of interaction and cosmological dissemination between different regions of Europe is the extravagant burials. Case studies from a number of different European regions show that the grave goods, whether it is armour or jewellery, are of similar types as are the monumental structures. A number of the chosen burials also include ‘exotic’, non-locally produced objects that essentially highlight the aspects of external contacts and travel (Boos 1999; Briand 1999; Demakopoulou 1999a; Jensen 1999b, c; Pare 1999; Thrane 1999; Vandkilde 1999). Thus, the esoteric ideas are embedded in the material culture and disseminated to those initiated to the socio-economical networks. While the similarities are emphasised, the symbolic language is not explored in any great detail. Yet it becomes clear from the articles that cosmological life was centred round cults of fertility, and was not to be separated from everyday life (Anati 1999; Capelle 1999; Scarre 1999).

Core theme four: travel, trade and the idea of European unity

Within the exhibition catalogue the idea of a somewhat united BA Europe is an underlying foundation for both themes - heroes and cosmology. The idea of European unity is even more strongly argued for in topic concerning trade. This was first explored in the issue of *European heritage* where Trotzig (2007 [1994]) argues that a network of trade connected centres and peripheries, and thus enabled the first golden age of Europe to blossom. According to O’Brien the ‘demand for metal laid the basis for an enduring trade network, which created a dependency between different regions’ (O’Brien 2007 [1994]). Here the intertextual links with the second generation’s world system theory become apparent. This is

further stressed by Møhnen (1999:22) who explains that ‘The “Homeric” world of the Bronze Age owes its dynamic economic condition to the establishment of long-distance trade on a European scale. Trading links were created by trading societies that were much more flexible than had been previously assumed’. Jensen emphasises that ‘[b]ronze was the common medium of exchange’ which enabled Europe to develop ‘into a coherent trading system’ (Jensen 1999c:92). In this manner Europe is, so to speak, made smaller – at least for the social elite of the Homeric heroes. As the demand for metal created dependency between different regions the trade networks become an important aspect of an integrated BA Europe. Thus Europe became culturally united through the travels that made the exchange of physical materials as well as ideas possible. This essentially contributed to a situation where the various social and religious symbols transgressed tribal borders.

Core theme five: linking past and present

As heritage functions as the means by which links between the past and present are made, it is not surprising that parallels between the BA and present-day societies are explicit. This is particularly explicit in the *European heritage* issue – the first of the publications on the BA as pan-European heritage:

While the Bronze Age was undoubtedly a turbulent period marked by warfare and migrations, it did make a lasting contribution to modern European society. Through their mastery of the earth's resources, their technical skill and trading pursuits, Bronze Age people contributed greatly to the advance of human civilisation. The Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations in particular occupy a special place in the birth of Europe.

The Bronze Age was not just a period of technological progress, but also saw important developments in the wider social and economic fields. The appearance of powerful regional leaders and a social hierarchy continues to find expression in the Europe of today. This period of prehistory mirrors to a great extent our Europe, a shifting mosaic of regional identities bound closer by a common interest in trade and enterprise. (O'Brien 2007 [1994]).

The link between past and present is also made in the exhibition of ‘Gods and heroes of the European Bronze Age’ which states that it ‘seeks to explore the conditions under which European history was born – at time when the modern Europe is in the process of creating, building on foundations which, though as yet little known, are not far removed from those of its origins and myths’ (Hvass, et al. 1999:viii). When the BA is presented as part of a pan-European heritage some aspects of the period will be highlighted and others will be downplayed. As noted earlier when highlighting the grand narrative, it is the *unity* rather than the diversity that is emphasised – or as the Secretary General of CoE states: ‘Diversity is doubtless a richness but it is not by stressing our differences that we shall improve the lot

for our children. So now and again it is refreshing and healthy to recall what unites us all and from long ago' (Tarschys 1999:v). However, as the first golden age of Europe it is not only unity, but also *continuity* that is accentuated. In this manner the BA is made meaningful in the present as it enables us to understand our origin as well as it makes possible a 'domestication' of the period as it singles out aspects which the people of today can identify with.

Identity II: conclusions

From the 1980s heritage became part of the politically initiated European identity discourse. Used as heritage the archaeological grand narratives of the BA are incorporated in the political identity discourse. Prior to the politically-initiated heritage campaign, we experience an archaeological return to the grand narratives with the implementation of world system theory emerging as a conference topic in the late 1980s (Jensen and Kristiansen 1994; Kristiansen 1998b). Contrary to the first generation of grand narratives, the second generation does not share the theme of the BA as Europe's Europeanization. Yet with a strong focus on economy and patterns of transaction they nevertheless fit well with the new pan-European history, and some of the ideas can indeed be identified in the archaeological heritage presentations. The heritage presentations are, on the other hand, a true mix of the first and second generations of grand narratives. The political aim for using heritage was to make Europeans aware of a shared history, and here the BA campaign was used as a means to create a public prehistory and memory of the European identity's beginning and long history. As part of a European heritage campaign, it therefore is inevitable that we see a return to the theme of the BA as Europe's first golden age or 'awakening'. While it is a slightly moderated version of Childe and Hawkes' accounts, it is nevertheless a story of 'unity in diversity' and the beginning of European history.

Thus throughout the 1990s *heritage* gradually becomes a *moment* in the European discourse, and a means to strengthen the emerging *nodal point* of *European people* by providing it with deep connections with the past. As heritage, the archaeological grand narratives of the BA are also integrated in the European discourse. However, while we see an archaeological return to the grand narratives, these interpretations are, as noted above, not drawing lines between the BA and the 'dawn of European civilisation'. In this sense they represent a contra-articulation to the heritage presentations. While the heritage interpretations portray

the BA as the start of European *history*, the second generation of grand narratives tone down the idea of an Occident/Orient binary opposition. This ambiguous situation highlights the problematic character of the early European identity project, and the fact that the symbolic package adapted in the 1980s and 1990s did not necessarily suit the pan-European context. While it is hard to measure the public success of the BA campaign, there is, however, little which indicates that the BA has become more important in academic publications considering the idea of Europe published after the campaign (for example Padgen 2002). In fact, the BA is rarely mentioned in any account related to European memory, culture, heritage or identity. As such it is fair to argue that as a political project, the BA campaign was not particularly successful. More generally one can argue that the early adoption of the 19th century's national symbolic package had not immediately accomplished its aim of affirming the identity which in reality was being constructed. This of course leads back to the problems of bureaucratic construction of *European people* as a nodal point. The responses to this problematic situation, can, however, be seen in the political shifts of the early 21st century.

4.2.5 2000-present: Identities

In the early 21st century culture has become a pronounced action area for the EU with the implementation of the cultural framework programs of the *Culture 2000 programme* (2000-2006) in 2000 and the *Culture Programme* (2007-2013) in 2007. Both of these programs are centred round the EU's motto 'Unity in Diversity' (adopted in 2000). However, while the cultural programs, like the political documents of the 1980s, still stress unity, diversity has a more central role in the European discourse of the 21st century. This can, on the one hand, be read as a recognition of the failing identity strategy of the 1980s and 1990s; throughout the 1990s it became increasingly clear that a European identity would not replace the national identities, but rather be an additional aspect of persons' already multiple identities (Horváth 2008; Risse 2004). On the other hand, the focus on cultural diversity highlights the problematic nature of the idea of a European identity and the failing nature of forcing forth a nodal point of *people* in the late 20th century European context. While no document on European identity has been produced since 1973, the CoE did hold a series of colloquia in 2001-2002 on European identity. Rather than a focus on affirming identity, a core research question was: 'Is there a European identity?' (CoE 2008 [2002]), and contrary to the

tendency to argue for an identity based mainly on primordial links with the past, it is stressed that 'European identity is rooted in national diversity, and emerges at the point where countries realise that they share a common future'. The results from these colloquia were to form a Declaration on European identity; the declaration has, however, yet to appear. Nevertheless, the shift in political ideas regarding identity is evident; recognising that persons have multiple identities, citizenship is becoming the new buzzword and tool for integration. The concept of identity is gradually replaced by an emphasis on citizenship (CoE 2008b), and culture is now used as a means to encourage 'the emergence of European citizenship' (EU 2007:6). Thus by reaching the citizen, who acquires European citizenship based on his/her national citizenship, the highflying idea of a European people is abandoned, at least for the time being, and the individual persons become the central agents.

A consequence of this shift is a trend towards emphasising popular and present-day culture which people can identify. As a result modern aspects of European heritage such as solidarity, tolerance, freedom, human rights and democracy are stressed in order to enable, the equally ambiguous and undefined, *European values* to grow stronger (CoE 2008a; EU 2008 [2000]). At the same time diversity combined with an emphasis on intercultural dialogue has become the key for peace, and not only economic integration (CoE 2008a, b; EU 2008 [2000]). Thus the European institutions, the EU and CoE, are moving towards constructing a postnational civic identity based on citizens' identification with a particular political structure – similar to the Habermasian idea of postnational identities (Risse 2004:256). As such the European organisations might finally be able to go beyond adopting the symbolic package of the nation-states. This can contribute to the creation of something original which has the chance to become a new form of trans-national community making which might lead to a stronger sense of European identity in the future. Within such a context, however, a golden age of the BA dating back around 5000 years becomes in itself of little importance. The fact that the archaeological research highlights the warrior ethos of the period is equally problematic when promoting human rights, democracy and solidarity. As the idea of the need for a long gone prehistoric golden age is closely related to nation-building it is not in line with the recent processes that put emphasis on the values of the present past. Thus while heritage still plays a central role in European politics, the archaeological grand narrative of the BA does not any more. Turning to the archaeological discourse, the grand narrative is also at a crossroads.

Underlying premises of the archaeological grand narratives of the early 21st century

Following the general tendencies within archaeology, the grand narrative at the turn of the 21st century shares the theoretical maturity of the late 20th century. Within Kristiansen and Larsson's book *The rise of Bronze Age society*, two additional underlying premises can be identified: 1) the idea of the BA as a proto-historical period, something which enables the authors to draw on historical sources as a means to approach various institutions of the BA; 2) a comparative approach to the historical sources, the archaeological material and the relationship between the two. These aspects are central for the way in which Kristiansen and Larsson are able to structure and relate the different societies in their analysis.

Thematically the book is intertextually linked to the former culture historic as well as archaeological heritage interpretations. The themes of travels and transformations were very much present in both periods whilst we also see a return to the Orient/Occident theme which dominated the culture historic grand narratives. However, their theoretical framework combined with the comparative approach set the interpretations apart from the first generation of grand narratives.

Core themes in Kristiansen and Larsson's *The rise of Bronze Age society*

The subtitle of the book, *Travels, transmissions and transformations*, in many ways sums up the core themes. In the following I intend to organise these themes in a way that also makes it possible to show how these themes analytically make this interpretation a new tendency in the BA discourse. While Kristiansen and Larsson use numerous examples in their interpretation, I will, however, only use a few to highlight the structure of their argument.

Core theme one: travels and BA 'otherness'

In line with post-processual archaeology, one of the aims for Kristiansen and Larsson is to grasp 'the otherness' of the BA, and a key to do so, they argue, is to understand the BA as a period characterised by mobility (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:32). One way of tracing the period's mobility is to examine objects such as personal items, prestige and trade goods which can be identified in burials, hoards and so forth. While these objects travel, they do not travel on their own; they are part of a social and ritual exchange system. This led to a situation where 'local communities throughout Europe became dependent upon each other to maintain open lines of long-distance exchange in order to secure the distribution of metal' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:39). Again we can observe the heritage of the world system

theory. These circumstances resulted in a radically new era of European history, and thus it is argued that

...Bronze Age society was situated between two basic needs: an economic need to maintain open lines of metal exchange and information, and a cultural and social need to maintain distinct local and regional traditions. This created a new dynamic between openness and closure, between powers of internal and external origins, Us and Other... (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:39).

As a means to approach this situation Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:39) draw on the work of Mary Helms who argues that space and distance are political, sociological and ideological. Furthermore it is argued that travels provided cosmological and esoteric knowledge controlled and curated by specialists such as chiefs, artisans and priests, and functioned as their attributes and legitimised their status and power. Within the Early BA context they identify the transmission of metallurgy, ideas about warfare, warrior elites and chiefly culture as central. Thus smiths could have enjoyed a privileged position as cultural heroes as they expect the ‘smithing to be part of other ritual and sacred functions linked to chieftainship’ (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:52). As a means to provide a deeper understanding of this situation Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:43-47) draw on epics such as Gilgamesh and the Mesopotamian myths of *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld* to show how similar traits occur in European myths and cosmologies. The reasons for these transmissions are understood to lie in the mobility of the period: the heroic travels and trade. Within the farming communities the travelling specialists and heroes stand out as different because they can relate themselves to origins far away in time and space. A consequence of the travels, Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:57) argue, is the formation of ‘a common elite culture’ which is to be identified in symbolic and cosmological terms. Thus with the travels as a starting point they aim to show how ‘the new Bronze Age world became interlinked in both technological and cosmological terms from the east Mediterranean and Eurasia to Scandinavia’ (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:61, 204).

Core theme two: symbolic transmission and social transformation

Kristiansen and Larsson set out to trace the process of institutionalisation – the process by which something, often a practice, is established as a norm or convention in a culture. It is in particular the social and cosmological practices and the relationship between the two that lie at the core of the analysis. Using historical sources, the authors highlight and present the structures of social and cosmological practices and institutions of the Near East and Egypt

(Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:62-107). A central element in their analysis is to show how kingship and divinity is interlinked, albeit at slightly different levels in Mesopotamia and Egypt, as well as to highlight the importance of the relationship between the kings and the military of the Hittites. As each element is presented, links to similarities in European societies are portrayed.

Iconography is one of the most important aspects they draw on when discussing similarities between these Near Eastern societies and those in Europe. They present, for example, similarities between the Egyptian hieroglyph of *ka*, the adorants of the Nordic rock art tradition and the late Late Mycenaean figurines (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:75). In a similar fashion they explain how the throne and the sceptre are important royal regalia among the Hittites as well more generally in the Middle East. However, these symbols of power such as the scimitars are also identified among certain chieftains in the northern and central parts of Europe (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:79). Furthermore they argue that the Hittites' military ideology can be seen more widely in northern and central Europe, only on a 'smaller scale' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:80).

By the BA both the European and Near Eastern societies shared a hierarchical social structure, and this made interaction, alliances and long-distance trade systems desirable to all involved parties. The result was a new era of interconnectivity and dependency between regions of Europe (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:112, 140). In this process of exchange the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures are central for the interlinking of religious and social practices of rulership. It is argued that the Near Eastern and Egyptian kings recognised the chieftains of the Mediterranean as 'worthy trading partners and members of the "brotherhood" of rulers' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:99). Gradually contact between the societies in the Mediterranean and central Europe (2300-1900 BC) was established to be followed by further integration with Western Europe (1900-1600 BC) and finally between these areas and Scandinavia (16/1500-1300 BC) (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:118-128). In addition to the exchange of physical goods, religious institutions, ideas, rituals and myths were disseminated (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:90, 95). As a means to explain the transformation of religious institutions, they again draw on iconographic symbols and their meaning. Originally from Egypt, the symbol of the lily was, for example, taken up by the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. Linking the symbol of the lily to high-ranking women, they are able to move towards identifying similarities between dresses and hair-styles among

the elite women the Mediterranean and Scandinavian societies (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:142-154).

While many more examples could have been cited, these examples nevertheless highlight the general tendency within this interpretation: the comparative approach enables Kristiansen and Larsson to put a strong emphasis on the similarities between the different continents. This is most clearly expressed when they discuss the warrior aristocracies. After 2000 BC a number of 'new personal status items, such as dagger/short sword and axe, along with complex gold-decorated ornaments, buttons and other insignia of ruling elites such as sceptres and golden drinking cups' appear (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:213). This, they argue, reflects 'the first merging of Near Eastern and traditional European ruling symbols' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:213). Again we see a very different understanding of the Europe-Near East relationship compared to the former culture historic grand narratives. Rather than regarded in opposition, they are viewed as part of the same chain of contacts – reaching 'from the Orient to Scandinavia' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:62). These similarities are further stressed when discussing cosmologies.

Core theme three: BA world cosmology

As a means to approach BA cosmology Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:253) divide the material, both archaeological and historical, into different categories: a) gods; b) myths; c) rituals; d) institutions. In addition theoretical frameworks of memory; genealogies and heroic tales; cosmology and myth function as a means to approach oral and religious practices where written material is absent (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:254-255). A core element in their analysis is the idea of 'twin gods'. They use Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and Indo-European (IE) religious studies, the *Rig-Veda* and the Minoan/Mycenaean *wanax* institution when they examine the institutionalism of twin dualism. At the core of this religious idea is the PIE division of the world into three realms: Upper, Middle and Lower. The Upper Realm is divided into two spheres, the day (sun) and the night (stars), and these were controlled by two opposites: the Mitrah and the Varunah of the *Veda* (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:262).

With this starting point Kristiansen and Larsson trace the symbolism and materialisation of the twin gods from the beginning of the BA proper. With their trans-continental angle they discuss a number of symbols, such as the double axes and the cap and tiara, related to the twin gods and rulers. Using a variety of iconographic and archaeological material they

identify similarities in material from Anatolia, central Europe and Scandinavia. The use of hats is, for example, identified as ruling symbols among the Hittites (iconography) as well as in Scandinavia (oak burials, figurines and axes) (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:267, 271-274). Similar arguments are made with regards to symbols of horned helmets, rock monuments and art in relation to water contexts, scimitars, spiral decoration and the role of the sun, sun-goddesses and -priestesses in the cosmologies in Scandinavia and among the Hittites (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:282-302, 330-334). It is argued that '[t]he pointed hat and horns of divine attributes is definitely not a Nordic "creation", but a combination of divine attributes that is typical of the Near East from at least the third millennium BC' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:313). A similar suggestion is made with regards to the figurines: 'the tradition of producing and using bronze figurines in rituals originated in the Near East/Anatolia, and was adopted in Scandinavia as part of the transmission of new political and religious institutions' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:316). Tracing the similarities of the BA cosmology in the Near East and in Europe enable Kristiansen and Larsson to argue for the existence of a BA world system where the twin god institution is one uniting the different areas.

Identities: conclusions

As a result of the political shifts from European identity to a focus on cultural diversity and citizenship, the grand narratives of the BA are no longer part of the European political discourse. While this shift is bound up with the problematic character of the European identity project, the focus on diversity and regionality can also be seen as a reaction towards the idea of cultural homogenisation due to globalisation. In some sense globalisation has also hit the archaeological grand narrative. While the diversity of the archaeological material is evident, it is rather a process of ideational global homogenisation which differentiates this work from former grand narratives. The end result is a new narrative where European-ness is no longer an issue; Kristiansen and Larsson eagerly, and more strongly than in world system approaches, present the transmissions and transformations of BA Europe as part of a much wider cosmological phenomenon that transgresses regional, national and continental borders. Through the linking of historical sources and the process of institutionalisation, they connect, rather than oppose, Europe and the Near East. As such it is fair to say that this interpretation contributes to a deconstruction of the idea of the BA as the emergence of Europe. The BA can come forth as a period of global contact-networks, where the fact that

BA Europe is the only ‘barbarian’ or ‘pre-urban’, and thus ‘true’, BA (Renfrew 1994:159) becomes irrelevant.

4.3 Concluding remarks

Historically one can identify four different core and one transitional phases of the ideational dimension of the European discourse. The historical contextualisation of the discourse shows that its elements – *archaeology*, *heritage* and *politics* (see chapter 2) – develop independently prior to the political identity project of the 1970s onwards.

During the first half of the 20th century the archaeological discourse on prehistoric Europe was established and developed within the culture historic tradition. In this period, it was mainly the national prehistory and history that were directly integrated into identity discourses. Childe’s work on European prehistory was not, however, apolitical. On the contrary it was a reaction towards one of the early European political movements – Nazism. However, the European identity discourse had not yet developed, and in this sense the field of European prehistory was not ‘politicised’ in the same manner as the national history. The works of Childe did, nevertheless, provide the foundations for central aspects of the BA grand narratives’ role in the European identity discourse.

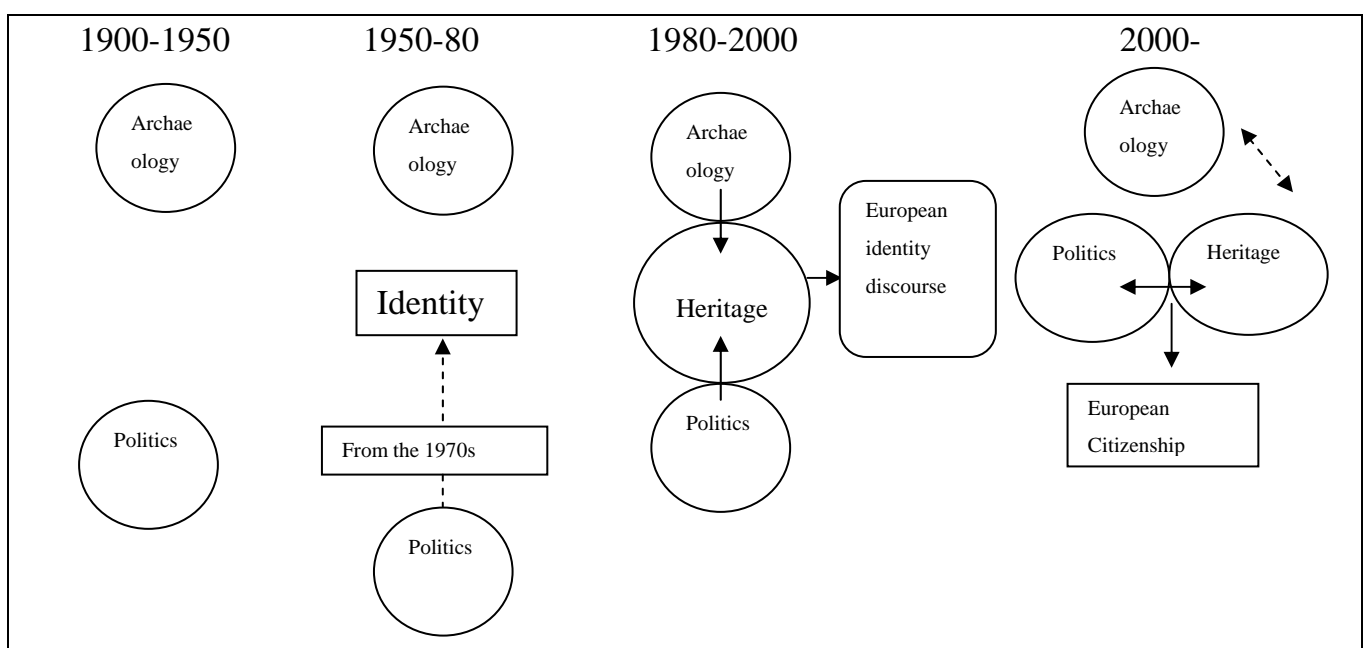


Figure 5 Historical overview of the European identity discourse, and the interlinking of its elements.

With the post-war focus on European integration, the discourse on Europe became a political project. The main focus was, however, on the organisational rather than the ideational dimension. Simultaneously we see an archaeological shift as the culture historic tradition and its grand narratives fell out of favour in the 1960s. One of the consequences was that the macro perspective on *European* prehistory no longer held a central position. However, with the process of European integration at a crossroads, the ideational dimension of the European discourse becomes more important from the 1980s onwards. As one means of solving the crisis, a notion of a European identity to strengthen the ideal nodal point of the *European people* was established. Heritage is the discursive field in which archaeology and politics meet as it draws on the archaeological research whilst also being a political tool. The political aim was to use heritage as means to create a shared European history for the public. Thus during the period of 1980-2000 *heritage* formed an important moment in the European identity discourse while the role of archaeology is, as is discussed below, more ambiguous. Entering the 21st century the situation seems to be changing: a) as the idea of a European identity has been toned down and increasingly replaced by that of evolving citizenship; b) as one moves towards a stronger emphasis on citizenship, it is other cultural and dimensions such as present-day popular culture rather than the BA that become important.

5. Conclusions

Str  th (2001b:14) argues that ‘[i]dentity is today’s concept for ourselves’, and it is a concept by which we, through the practice of writing history, ‘translate the past in order to better understand ourselves’. The European identity discourse can therefore be understood as a discourse on how we are to perceive ourselves as Europeans. As a means to do this, the past, now usually in the form of heritage, has been used to create a situation in which one can construct cultural continuities to give the new identity of the given *people* a historical aura by blurring past and present.

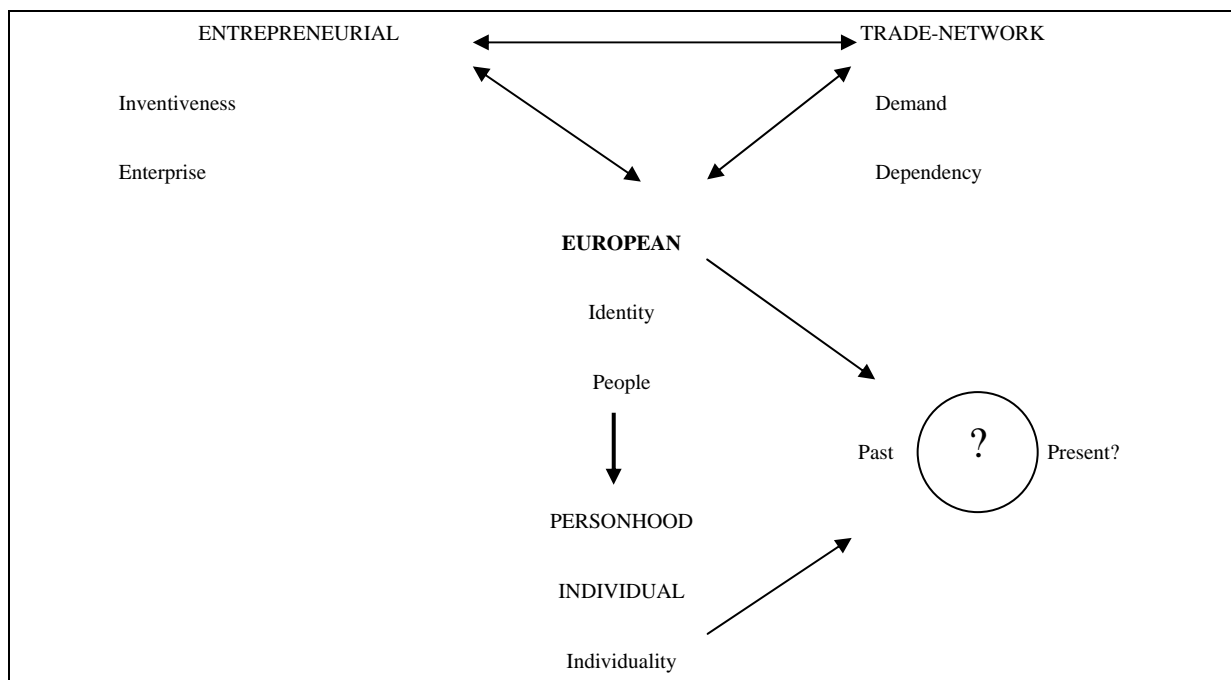


Figure 6 *Blurring of the past and present.*

Within a European context this has been done by identifying practices in the archaeological record of the BA which are seen in relation to the emergence of *European-ness*. The transfer of objects is obvious in the archaeological record, and through conceptualising this practice as trade-networks based on demand and dependency one is able to ‘domesticate’ the past by using ideas, concepts and practices we can identify with. Thus, in a similar fashion to Childean prehistory, heritage interpretations enable continuities to be constructed by arguing, for example, that ‘the Bronze Age was a time when many of the traits which we identify with Europe found their first expression’ (Trotzig 2007 [1994]) or that ‘[m]any of our Western values today – enterprise, inventiveness and individuality – stem from the

advances in this period' (O'Brien 2007 [1994]). These concepts also make it possible to create 'personhood continuities'.

A core aspect in post-Reformation Western personhood is the *individualised* individual. The individualised individual is more or less in control over his/her actions and is the sole active agent, separated from material objects which at best become symbols of their individuality (for example Fowler 2004; Thomas 2004). The concepts of trade and entrepreneurialism are means by which objects come across as passive and humans as filled with agency. From originally being related to one specific sector of BA society (Childe's bronze smiths and later more generally the elite), aspects such as enterprise, inventiveness, individuality and being an entrepreneur have become pan-European identifiers of the period that again have become the origins of European-ness. The shift towards single burials makes the BA a period where 'the individual beings ... come into clearer focus' (Longworth 2007 [1994]). These individuals are, however, present not only in graves, but also as the agents, often presented as leaders and warriors, who take part in the trade networks and have the means to express their wealth through material symbols (Jensen 1999c). This makes it possible to argue that the BA was a period 'widely associated with entrepreneurial leadership, with initiative and innovation of the kind (*sic* [kind]) which is characteristic of modern Europe' (O'Brien 2007 [1994]).

This blurring of past and present should have enabled, to use Lowenthal's term, a 'domestication' of the period in which it, while being distant and foreign, also becomes near and familiar. In other words it provides aspects that present-day Europeans can identify with and have in common with 'their ancestors'. As such *archaeology*, and in particular the *archaeological heritage* presentations, should provide sound moments in the European discourse as they strengthen the historical ideational aspects of the European identity and help define the state of being European. Based on the finding in chapter 4, this has not been particularly successful and one can ask to what why this is.

5.1 European identity – a discourse strategy of the present past?

The European identity discourse of the late 20th century was essentially part of an older political discourse on integration. However, with a shift from integration to identity, the European discourse was altered; for the first time, it was also centred on the ideational

dimension, and *European people* and concepts such as Europe and European-ness become nodal points. *Europe* and *European (people)* are, however, equivocal terms, and when used as a means to strengthen and clarify their meaning, the field of culture became more important. As a result *heritage* is introduced as a moment in the European identity discourse in the 1980s. That is, its multivocal character is reduced as a means to strengthen the nodal points, and in this context used as a means to create an idea of the long historical roots of the European civilisation and its identity. In order to do so the field of heritage has to draw on archaeology, and thus archaeology becomes part of the discourse. The findings of the analysis in chapter 4 do, however, indicate that the contemporary archaeological macro perspectives of the BA never fully moved from element to moment.

This is, however, not to argue that archaeologists have not taken part in the European discourse of the 1990; since archaeologists have been participating in creating the heritage interpretations, the discipline is drawn towards a role of a moment. Yet, and as noted above (chapter 2), the transition from element to moment can never be fully achieved, and within the European identity discourse it is in particular the discursive field of archaeology where this transition has proved most difficult. I would argue that this is due to the history of the discipline and the previous experiences of political misuse of archaeology during the first half of the 20th century. The history of archaeological thought makes it problematic to blindly engage in constructing cultural continuities for present-day political identity building. During the late 20th century the archaeological grand narratives are withdrawn from a particular connection to the European identity discourse as they build down the older opposition between the Orient and Europe. In this sense they do no longer ‘fit’ a European identity paradigm. Rather, they reflect tendencies of modern globalisation with the focus on transcontinental interaction. The focus on ‘otherness’ functions as a means to distance itself from the former culture historical archaeology, and make certain that the prehistoric past is fundamentally different from the present. It goes without saying that this of course makes a heritage campaign intended to contribute to an idea of a shared history problematic. The ambiguity of the archaeological discourse is one of the reasons why the BA campaign did not manage to become an important part of a common European memory.

As noted above, it is hard to measure the success of the campaign among the public. If the campaign was to make a profound impact on the European identity construction, it would, however, have had to be more directly related to the public through, for example, school

curricula and television and equally important it would have had to last for a much longer period of time. The textual material we are left with is, as noted above, not particularly well suited for the general public. While a transnational project, the texts produced, to a certain extent, follow national boundaries and are not written as one coherent, long narrative. As such the project fails to draw lines between the national material and do not make them an easy read for the general public. While this reflects the general tendency of the national, regional and local trends in archaeology, the lack of a clear coherent narrative can, however, also be read as an archaeological statement against the political aims of unity and continuity, and more generally against the creation of primordialist narratives (Kristiansen 2008; Pluciennik 1998:816-817, 822). The contemporary theoretical archaeological discourse of the 1980s and 1990s has stressed the problems of creating cultural continuities and tried to solve the problems by aiming to explore the 'otherness' of the past (Kristiansen 1998a; Olsen 2001; Solli 1997). As such an attitude is expressed by the leading figure in BA archaeology it very much reveals the discipline's lack of belief in such a project. This is not to say, however, that archaeological BA research has not benefited from the campaign. On the contrary, the interest in the BA has risen and the campaign has resulted in a better archaeological understanding of the period. With an anti-primordialist attitude becoming more mainstream, it seems fair to argue that the BA campaign has been one in which the archaeological community has managed to benefit from political incentives without becoming Euro-rhetoric or loosing their academic integrity.

Politically the BA campaign cannot be said to have been a particular success. It belongs to the early discourse strategy of establishing an idea of a *European people*, similar to those of the nation-states, as the nodal point of the discourse. While the use of *people* is left behind, defining the term European is still an on-going process. The European discourse's focus has now shifted, and I would argue that the BA campaign has contributed to reveal the outdated character of the strategies used in the European identity construction. As such it has contributed to the realisation of the new integration strategies of the EU and CoE. In this sense one can argue that the past has caught up with the present; if there is one trait that characterises European cultural history, it is diversity and this diversity is slowly being implemented in present-day European cultural politics. Whether the BA will form part of this celebration of diversity in the future is of course another matter.

Appendix

A brief introduction to the history of the European Union

Viewed from the present the results of the political projects of the 1940s to the 1960s can easily come across as a series of steady, rather rapid and straightforward steps. The process towards European unity was of course much more complicated, and was to a large extent dominated by two lines: a) Britain along with Ireland and Scandinavia wanted restrictive inter-governmental co-operation; b) France, Italy, the Benelux countries and West Germany wanted a far-reaching federalist approach. This divide was one of the reasons for why the *Council of Europe*, formed in 1949, never became a supra-national vehicle for integration. Rather its main task was, and still is, to ensure peace and stability in Europe based on principles such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law (McCormick 2005; Wæver 2000; Young 1996).

While all Western European countries were invited to join what later became today's EU, it was France, Italy, the Benelux countries and West Germany that together created the first supra-national organisation, the *European Coal and Steel Community* (ECSC). The ECSC came into force in 1952 after the 1951 *Treaty of Paris* was ratified by West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Thus the French statesman Jean Monnet put it: 'the boundaries of the Six were not drawn up by the Six themselves, but by those who were not yet willing to join them' (Monnet in Wæver 2000:173).

With the 1957 Treaties of Rome, the *European Economic Community* (EEC) and the *European Atomic Energy Community* (EURATOM) were established. ECSC, EEC and EURATOM were created as independent communities and political unity proved to be increasingly difficult as in particular West Germany and France often had different opinions and solutions to questions of integration. With the *Treaty establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities* (also known as the *Merger Treaty*), signed in Brussels in 1965 the ECSC, EEC and EURATOM merged and became *European Communities* (EC) which entered into force 01.07.1967.

Entering the 1970s the EC was gradually opened up as the three new member states of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined the EC in 1973. Norway originally applied, but voted against in a public referendum in 1972. In order to secure better leadership the European Council was established in 1974 and the first step towards more integrated economies were taken with the European Monetary System (EMS) and the European Currency Unit (ECU). Both the EMS and ECU had, however, limited effect as they were used for transaction purposes only and never entered the daily life.

The EC was extended twice during the 1980s, Greece first joined in the 1981 and Spain and Portugal joined in 1986. In 1986 the next step towards political as well as economic unification of Europe was established with the *Single European Act* which created the European Community (also known as the EC). After the fall of the Berlin wall, East Germany joined the EC in 1990. The *Treaty on European Union* (also known as the Maastricht Treaty) was signed in 1992, and the European Union came into force in 1993 (McCormick 2005:61-73). The *Treaty of Amsterdam* later amended the *Treaty on European Union*, and the earlier treaties on establishing the European communities.

Since the signing of the Maastricht Treaty Sweden, Finland and Austria joined in 1995 and Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary and Cyprus in 2004, and finally Bulgaria and Romania in 2007.



Figure 7 Map of Europe.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:EU_map_names_isles.png

European Union member states as of 2008			Candidate countries
Austria, 1995	Germany, 1951	Netherlands, 1951	Croatia
Belgium, 1951	Greece, 1981	Poland, 2004	Macedonia
Bulgaria, 2007	Hungary, 2004	Portugal, 1986	Turkey
Cyprus, 2004	Ireland, 1973	Romania, 2007	
Czech Republic, 2004	Italy, 1951	Slovakia, 2004	
Denmark, 1973	Latvia, 2004	Slovenia, 2004	
Estonia, 2004	Lithuania, 2004	Spain, 1986	
Finland, 1995	Luxembourg, 1951	Sweden, 1995	
France, 1951	Malta, 2004	United Kingdom, 1973	

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